

Dateline'86

**TERRORISM
AND THE MEDIA**

**Overseas Press Club
of America**



Mon.



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Thur.

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Fri.

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Wed.

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Sat.



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Dateline'86

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TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA

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From OPC's President

The foreign correspondent was 1985's unsung hero, the irreplaceable link between the American public and shattering world events that held our hearts and imaginations captive throughout the year. Journalists of all media strove mightily to report and to interpret the seemingly endless acts of terrorism, hostage-taking, bombings, hijackings and other cruel acts of man upon mankind. Often risking their lives, or at the very least their safety and comfort, foreign correspondents gave us the heartbreaking details of the immense natural disasters—Mexico's earthquake, Colombia's volcanic eruption, Puerto Rico's mudslide—that wreaked their own havoc upon mankind. Giving human dimensions to the suffering and converting private agonies into public concerns, these journalists made a difference in world response to the horror of famine and the shame of apartheid. Few Americans have been left uninformed or untouched by the tragedies abroad because of their efforts.

With our annual awards and "Dateline 86", the Overseas Press Club recognizes and honors the distinguished service of these very valued—and very special—members of our news organizations. The competition for the top prizes and citations of excellence was even more vigorous this year among the unprecedented number of entries. The overall quality was exceptional. This year's OPC winners may be proud to know that they were selected by the judges from among the very best and the brightest that our country's media has to offer.

This year concludes my four-year presidency of the OPC and I want to express my gratitude to the officers, the Board of Governors and all the members who worked so unceasingly to make these years productive ones.

We face many problems which seem to be ubiquitous in most clubs in New York City, in that operational costs have increased enormously. We are unique,



however, in presenting to our members the facilities of a clubhouse with the lowest dues of any club in the city.

In addition, we have offered our members a series of outstanding programs, as well as insurance policies not available to individuals. And our Freedom of the Press Committee has continued to defend and assert the principles of a free press and to protest the incarceration of journalists throughout the world. Our awards program continues to be the most prestigious in the field of journalism, and our issuance of Dateline also indicates the quality and professionalism of the OPC.

In order to continue the viability of this special organization, it is important that we selectively recruit many new members. I urge all of our current members to spread the word that what the OPC offers is a rewarding, important, and salutary experience for everyone in the field of communications.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Anita Diamant".

Anita Diamant
President
Overseas Press Club



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Media Restraints No Answer to Terrorism

By David K. Shieler
Washington Correspondent,
New York Times,
did long stints covering
Israel and Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON—When Shiite Moslem terrorists hijacked a TWA jetliner last summer and put some of the hostages on American television from Beirut, a good deal of muttering was heard from officials, ex-officials and would-be officials in and around Washington about the irresponsibility of the news media in giving such thugs the publicity they sought. Discomfort was also shared by some editors and reporters, who rarely enjoy admitting that they are being used. Pleas were made for self-restraint. Henry Kissinger, his voice laden with tiresome arrogance, scolded television and called for an end to debate, just as he used to do during the Vietnam War.

It was a remarkably sterile discussion for a nation dedicated to the proposition that the people rule and that if they are to rule wisely, they must have knowledge. And then the whole issue evaporated. It disappeared as suddenly as it had come, and it was not renewed during the next major act of terrorism—the seizure of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*—which took place well out of camera range. A few months later, a New York Times/CBS News Poll found that hardly any Americans surveyed thought that reducing news coverage would diminish the problem of terrorism.

Terrorism is theater. Unlike common crime, it involves three parties: not only attacker and victim but also audience. In this strange triangular relationship exists the corrosive mixture of violence and politics.

Terrorism is also a small act—a small threat or a small amount of bloodshed against a relatively small number of people. Its impact lies in its amplification, a feat accomplished by the outrageous nature of the attack, the involvement of innocents with whom a larger audience can identify. Of course, it is easy to amplify the act in an age of instant mass communication.

But terrorism is not undertaken for the sole purpose of getting on the CBS Evening News. American politicians who think so are merely projecting onto an alien culture their conviction that televi-

sion coverage determines reality. Terrorists often carry out their bombings and hijackings in places and circumstances that are inaccessible to reporters and cameras. Their audience is diffuse, and it often includes their own peers as well as their enemies. The young Palestinian men from refugee camps who become "fedayeen," "freedom-fighters,"



Associated Press

Lebanese Shiite Moslem leader, Nabih Berri, (far right) at press conference at his home in West Beirut. His Shiite militiamen rescued American Professor Frank Regier (left) of the American University of Beirut and Frenchman Christian Joubert from unknown kidnappers. Both men had been missing for more than two months.

are rewarded not by imagining themselves on American television but by the accolades of their subculture, which sees them as noble, brave, heroic. In many terrorist movements, the guerrilla violence has become an end in itself, fed by the anger of history, deprivation and powerlessness.

Those who lead terrorist organizations seek to impress a broad audience, to be sure. And news coverage is essential to that purpose. But reflective experts on terrorism who have studied the problem from inside and outside government seem generally resigned to the inevitability of extensive reporting on heinous acts. In quiet moments of discussion, a few wish for less sensationalism by television news. But it is hard to find anyone who thinks seriously that coverage can

be curbed by design, or that it should be in an open society. If it were, those terrorists who want publicity would probably escalate the horror of their attacks until nobody could ignore them.

In the minds of some officials, a more difficult task is keeping the President, Secretary of State and other high-level officials from personal involvement in a terrorism crisis. Logically, there is no reason for President Reagan, following an attack on El Al counters in the Rome and Vienna airports, to use a news conference to assail President Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya. The heads of the states in which the attacks occurred, or of those

whose citizens were also killed or wounded, did not rise dramatically to rhetorical fisticuffs with Qaddafi or anyone else. Why President Reagan? His people would answer that the pressure was generated by the extensive news coverage, as if there were no coverage in the other countries affected.

In fact, President Reagan's personal involvement, and his economic sanctions against Libya, extended and expanded the news coverage, drew American correspondents to Qaddafi's capital and provided the Libyan leader with a good deal of ink and air time. Suddenly, Qaddafi was elevated as if he were an equal partner in a duel with the head of a superpower. It was not Dan Rather but Ronald Reagan who was responsible for that.

Dealing for a Media Hostage—And Winning

By Ed Turner,
Executive Vice President/CNN

ATLANTA—"The terrorists have 50 hostages in the basement and say they will kill one an hour unless you broadcast their message to the world. Would you?"—an inevitable question at journalism seminars or during the Q&A session in the civic club circuit. My answer, "Well, yes."

Hypothetical situations do not a policy make. In recent times each major hostage story has been different. The release of American University/Beirut Professor Frank Regier; to Nabih Berri's boys; to the release in Damascus of CNN Beirut Bureau Chief Jerry Levin; to the TWA hostages of last summer; to the Achille Lauro ship incident—terrorists tend to write their own scenarios.

Therefore, the only guidelines for coverage that make any sense are those dictated by common sense and prudent judgment. With absolute certainty of being contradicted I think we in the news business, particularly television, have done a responsible job. Critics claim we are used, manipulated, manipulative, sensationalistic, guilty of hype and probably harmful to the corn crop.

I respond that television, certainly at CNN, clearly establishes the circumstances of any interview with terrorists; that even the bad guys have a point of view likely worth hearing; the stories in and of themselves are sensational and don't require much, in the way of extra help and sure, we want the viewers to watch our network and not the competition so we will tell them what is coming up. Newspapers once put out extras and front page makeup editors know how to create an eyebrow and a front page tease to turn to page 27 for an interview with the victim.

Somehow the notion has grown that we can tell the audience too much and within this worry stirs the fear we-don't-know-what-use-the-viewer-will-make-of-it-all. Better to over inform than under inform; and who are we to say what use—for good or ill—the viewer, or reader, should make of any story. That is up to the consumer of news.

For 11 months I was the point man for CNN to do whatever was necessary to assist in the recovery of our kidnapped Beirut Bureau Chief. Jerry Levin was

taken from a Beirut Street in March of 1984 and escaped or was permitted to escape almost a year later. During that time I went to Beirut to meet with the various factions who might help us find what the kidnappers wanted to free Levin. Over the next many months the one rule I learned in dealing with representatives of six foreign governments and God knows how many ad hoc groups is that there are no rules. In my instant education I became exposed to a very different, non-Western point of view which should be heard, considered, and explained.

This new reality, to me, had nothing

to do with morality or right and wrong. I had to learn to think in their terms and that was good for me as a newsman and good for our network in how we covered the next terrorist story.

In sum, there may be better ways to report on a breaking terrorist-hostage story than the viewers have seen on the major networks. In time we will develop additional techniques, sources, live/remote and studio skills.

Sure, mistakes were made by humans during very high pressure, quick editorial call times. But those mistakes were made in an effort to bring more of the story to the public, not less. I will cast my lot every time on a public with too much information, too many pictures, too many points of view, too great a clash of opinion than the reverse when a monolith dictates what the people shall not see, not hear, and not read.



Associated Press

Jerry Levin is welcomed in Frankfurt, West Germany by his wife Lucille and other family members. The CNN Beirut Bureau Chief was kidnapped in Beirut and escaped after 11 months of captivity in Lebanon.

Terrorism a Media Threat In Miami Area

By Don Bohning
Latin America Editor,
The Miami Herald

MIAMI—It never reached the proportions of Lebanon, but terrorism is no stranger to South Florida and its media.

Miami in the late 1960s and early 1970s was a war zone as Cuban exiles battled each other and, less successfully, Fidel Castro. Bombings were commonplace, assassinations routine, hijackings to Havana a dime a dozen.

Miami also was fertile ground for those seeking recruits to do their dirty work elsewhere.

Terrorism also posed problems for segments of the South Florida media, more the result of fear and intimidation than how to cover it.

Miami's bout with terrorism was largely a legacy of clandestine CIA sponsorship and support for Cuban exiles in their effort to bring down Fidel Castro.

When that sponsorship ended in the late 1960s, it left behind hundreds of Cuban exiles trained in weaponry, explosives and irregular warfare.

They took out their frustrations on each other and targets belonging to countries and companies dealing with Cuba without ever doing much damage to Castro.

It was a particularly difficult time for the South Florida media, where anti-Castro feeling still run strong among the large Cuban community.

For the most part, however, the South Florida terrorism and even that occurring in Latin America in the 1970s, did not

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pose the same dilemma for editors as that taking place in the Mideast today. Rarely was there the feeling that terrorists might be using the media for their own ends.

Cuban exile terrorists were more interested in intimidation than publicity. And in Latin America, a wave of kidnappings by leftist guerrillas was aimed primarily at obtaining specific objectives. Sometimes they were financial, at other times directed at freeing imprisoned comrades. Media attention was a by-product.

In Miami, responsible reporters who were perceived to be "soft on communism" were subjected to a barrage of criticism in the largely exile-controlled Spanish-language media.

The Federal Communications Commission monitoring of local Spanish-language radio was spotty at best, and any journalist even visiting Cuba could expect a vitriolic attack. At the least, he would be called a Communist on the air.

Reporters also were the targets of abusive letters and anonymous threats that had to be taken seriously because of the terrorism surrounding them.

At one point, because of anonymous telephone threats, The Herald briefly employed private security guards to watch the home of a reporter who had recently returned from Cuba. It also sent an Hispanic reporter to Puerto Rico for a week following death threats against him.

Hispanic reporters, particularly, were the targets of intimidation and fear. Many would refuse to cover Cuban affairs because of the peer pressure exerted.

A few specific instances will help better understand the kind of atmosphere in Miami at the time.

Emilio Millian, a staunchly anti-Castro Spanish-language radio announcer who had denounced exile terrorism, survived a car bombing but lost both legs in the blast.

In the two years between April 1974 and April 1976, five prominent Cuban exiles were gunned down in Miami, the apparent victims of quarrels over turf, power and influence.

Bombings of local consulates forced the British and Spaniards to relocate. The Mexican and Dominican consulates also were struck by damaging blasts although there were no injuries.

Seven bombs went off in Miami in a 24-hour period of December 1975, coinciding with a visit to the city by William D. Rogers, then assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. Most of the blasts were at U.S. government offices, including one in front of the FBI headquarters.

The watershed of the exile terrorism came in October 1976 when a bomb placed aboard a Cubana airlines jetliner enroute from Guyana to Havana, exploded shortly after takeoff from Barbados. All 73 persons on board died.

Orlando Bosch, a onetime pediatrician and among the most persistent and fanatical of the Miami-based exile terrorists, was accused of being the intellectual author of the airliner bombing. He remains in jail in Venezuela for his alleged role.

It is probably true that some segments of the South Florida media pulled their punches in dealing with exile terrorism.

In addition to the obvious intimidation, it also was in part a legacy of the early 1960s when the Central Intelligence

Agency's largescale operations in Miami were pretty much an open secret but never exposed.

It was the continuation of an era in which John F. Kennedy could appeal to publishers, as he did in the case of the Bay of Pigs building, to censor their publications on the grounds of national security.

Had the media—both local and national—gone full bore in its reporting of CIA activities in South Florida during the early 1960s it is conceivable the Bay of Pigs fiasco never would have occurred.

And had the Bay of Pigs never taken place, it is possible the level of Cuban exile terrorism in the late 1960s and early 1970s would have been greatly diminished.

Scapegoating the News Media—for the Wrong Reason

By Ben H. Bagdikian
Dean of the Graduate School
of Journalism, University of
California, Berkeley;
former Washington correspondent
and Assistant Managing Editor
of the Washington Post

BERKELEY—One of the more depressing Washington performances I've experienced happened last June 30 when I was one of a number of people asked to testify before a House subcommittee on the proper role of the news media during episodes of political violence.

Periodic professional depression in Washington is not new to me, having reported out of Washington for 16 years. But this time it was depressing for two reasons:

1. Several members of Congress clearly longed to place mandatory guidelines over the news media when there are crises like hijackings in progress, or when people hostile to the United States are spreading their messages via American press and television.

2. Much of the news media asked for it. They asked for it not because of what some officials accused them of—harming the security of the United States or the safety of hostages—but because so much of the media visible to the public behaved in disgusting ways unrelated

to serious newsgathering but insisted on defending that behavior as good journalism.

It's not hard to understand the psychology of some of the more overheated congressional speechmakers at the June 30 hearing. During the hijacking of the TWA plane in the Middle East, the immediate cause of the hearing, there was nothing the United States could do substantially to influence the events. It was a frustrating and humiliating experience for everyone. It was also ideal for the creation of scapegoats, and the news media are always handy for that and in this case were vulnerable.

Consequently, a succession of congressmen—not all—did what they accused the hijackers of doing and did it for the same reason the hijackers did: they postured before the TV cameras, making fiery and fearsome noises for the folks back home, the volume of the noise in reverse proportion to the soundness of their arguments.

These representatives said the news media were wrong to let the hijackers use American television to spread their demands and messages and therefore gave a romantic and approving vision of the kidnappers, that the media had endangered American servicemen by reporting that a fast-moving American force had been moved to the area, and that the very presence of journalists, es-

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TIME Magazine is pleased and proud to participate in the Statue of Liberty restoration project, for all the obvious reasons, and for one that is perhaps not so obvious. We see Miss Liberty not only as a symbol of democracy, but as a reminder of one of democracy's major prerequisites: literacy.

Literacy is a defense against every form of extremism: social, political, even religious. It gives frustration and hostility another place to go instead of violence. It provides a perspective, a sense of past tradition and future possibilities, that can make ideas more viable than absolutes, and evolution more practical than revolution.

The whole idea of democracy is to resolve conflict through consensus, and literacy is essential to state both the conflict and its resolution. And if literacy is essential, so too are a free press, responsible journalism, and clear accurate communication.

By understanding the conditions in which democracy flourishes, we can protect it where it now exists, and encourage its development where it does not.



pecially of TV cameras, incited terrorism since the goal of the terrorists was to get their message out to the world, especially the United States.

Therefore, said some of these congressmen, the news media should accept controlled information during these episodes, should refuse to let hijackers and others like them gain access to the audience, and there should be strict guidelines on reporting that would not necessarily be voluntary guidelines.

Most of the suggestions have little or no basis in what we know about these episodes. When the public is full of anxiety over a horror as shaking as the TWA hijacking, when dozens or hundreds of American families are directly involved because the hostages are friends and relatives, only the constant flow of immediate and believable information prevents rumor, hysteria and bitterness at our own government. There is no need to transmit everything the kidnappers say, but what they say is an important ingredient to understanding what is going on.

Blanking out news simply because it is distasteful is irrational in a democracy where some level of public understanding has to underlie sound public policy. The accusation that letting the hijackers speak into American TV cameras induced sympathy for them in the American public simply counters overwhelming evidence of wide public hatred of the hijackers, the intensity of this hatred probably increased by seeing them in their own setting.

That wide news publicity creates some imitation in the future may be true in some instances, and to that degree it is a real cost of total coverage. But it is a cost whose elimination creates what I think would be worse consequences. Besides, it affects only a few acts of political terrorism. Only with rare exceptions are these acts the work of simply insane individuals. Most want something beyond publicity, usually quite specific demands. If they do not get publicity by some acts—picketing, throwing rocks, bombing embassies—they escalate the violence until it cannot be ignored by the media, or by the public. So in some cases, blanking out these episodes may increase the level of violence. We are not dealing with cost-benefit analyses by a PR agency, but men and women ready to die for their cause.

Furthermore, it is generally incorrect that these events occur solely or mostly to attract the cameras. Major, awful episodes occur without benefit of cameras, including the massive killing of American Marines in their barracks in Beirut, the



Associated Press

A House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Terrorism in the Middle East hears from Bruce Laingen, (left) a former hostage in Iran; Jerry Levin who was held in Lebanon and Peggy Say, sister of Associated Press Beirut Bureau Chief Terry Anderson who is being held in Lebanon.

recent bombing of air terminals in Rome and Vienna, and many other explosions or killings done without announcement. The presence of TV cameras as incitement to violence was given by the government of South Africa as the reason for banning coverage of disturbances in that country. But after coverage ceased and government took almost total control of reporting, the disturbances and deaths continued, unseen by journalists (and, therefore, probably more brutal).

Underlying almost all these acts of terrorism are profound strains in global politics, strains that go beyond US-USSR relations and strains that will be with us for many years. It is promoting dangerous fantasies to give the impression that it is solely the work of nutty publicity hounds, or that the motivations of the agitators can be ignored and therefore censored or filtered on the basis of our own national policies.

But if some members of congress—and the knee-jerk machismo that so often emanated from the White House during these episodes—used the news media as a scapegoat for their frustrations, it has to be said that much of the most visible news media behavior is hard to justify on the basis of serious reportage. This does not make the scapegoaters correct, but neither does it make news media behavior defensible.

In the subcommittee hearing at which I testified, I agreed with my old friend and fellow witness, Fred Friendly, that some of the worst behavior of reporters at the TWA hijacking was done in the manic pursuit of personal exclusives. But I had to disagree with Fred when he said this had nothing to do with ratings. I think it has everything to do with ratings.

Each network wants exclusive, melodramatic footage. Each wants on camera not the correspondent who knows

that area and has some depth in it, but instead wants its celebrity anchors, or morning or evening show hosts, some of whom display appalling ignorance and represent show business rather than journalism. It is the reward and punishment system in exclusives in melodrama—not exclusives in serious journalism—that creates this behavior and underlying that is the constant dread of being beaten in the ratings. This dread permeates all broadcast news.

News and corporate executives are the ones ultimately responsible for the most offensive behavior of their journalists. All these executives have to do is support the serious news directors who have the guts to say, "This is play-acting, it is in poor taste, it has nothing to do with good reporting of this event, so we will not air it." I've been a reporter and I've been an editor and I know that from both ends, this is all it takes. There is no cosmic law in Journalistic Heaven that ordains it; it is the executives at the top who ordain it.

The mob scenes smothering news sources, the ambush cameras poking over the chaplain's shoulder as he tells the mother for the first time that her son is dead, the "capturing" of relatives in hotels in order to get exclusive footage of reunions, the obliteration of more serious news because anything that moves fast with violence is considered "good television" on that basis rather than on its significance—all these and other behavior offensive to good reporting of serious events can be changed. But they cannot and should not be changed on the basis of angry government officials nor by news executives afraid of angry government officials, but on the basis of what is good journalism in covering serious events.

Photographer Micha Bar-Am:

"My Back Yard"

Micha Bar-Am, who has spent more than 30 of his 55 frenzied years as a photo-journalist, has aimed camera lenses at violence in many parts of the Middle East for The New York Times and other major publications.

One of the celebrated band of Magnum photographers Mr. Bar-Am, though he has ranged from West Africa to the Himalayas; from Vietnam to Iceland for pictures, has concentrated on Israel and bordering countries, the turbulent area he calls "my back yard."

He had a one-man show at the International Center of Photography, in New York, in 1982. Last year his pictures were on exhibition at the International Museum of Photography, of the George Eastman House, in Rochester, N.Y. Early this year his work was shown at the Kahn Gallery, in Houston, Texas.

The Israeli photographer is now at Harvard as a Nieman Fellow, one of the few photographers to have won this journalistic honor.



THE CHASE—Terrorist killed after attack on kibbutz, ignored as Israelis continue hunt at once for others.



FACELESS ON THE WEST BANK—Captured terrorist, face covered with sack, collaborates with Israeli Army by identifying accomplices as Arabs were lined up in front of him.



PRELUDE TO PRESENT—Fresh graves of some of the eleven Israeli children killed in school bus near Israel-Lebanon border in 1970.



MEDIA LIFE IN BEIRUT—Car bomb blows up New York Times car near Alexander Hotel, where correspondents gathered. Minutes before the explosion Micha Bar-Am had left the car—with equipment. He took this picture within 30 feet of the blast.



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Los Angeles Times

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In Covering Terrorism Let Editors—Not Government— Set the Guidelines

By Emerson Stone
Vice President, News Practices
CBS News

The steady encroachment of terrorist acts, their numbers and their variety, into the news, with its consequent effect on the coverage of that news must concern all journalists.

First and most evident, when a terrorist act of magnitude and horror explodes anywhere, it tends to obliterate other significant news of the day that may be equally or more important. The only exceptions are the most overriding of competing stories.

Such news that competes with news of a terrorist act may get a valid and significant amount of coverage, within a single newscast or within a single day or even over a week or two, but imbalance of presentation is to be guarded against.

Beyond such considerations, terrorism has a more tangible effect on the public interest, as we report it, because of its presence, its immediacy, in the pictures and the sounds of broadcasting. Terrorism is sensational by its nature, and for that and more judgmental reasons it holds the potential for affecting the future decision and courses of action of many viewers and listeners (e.g. as tourists or business travellers).

News stories involving terrorism tend to touch on people across the nation, affecting them, their families, their friends and relatives. In that respect, these stories are cognate with, say, the flaming end of the shuttle Challenger, a national election, and so on.

Thus, at a more philosophical level, it has been noted that television, perhaps more than any other medium, serves a public purpose in giving the nation a

sense of identity in the face of such calamities; a community of shared ensuing grief, apprehension, or achievement, as the nation responds to what is being done.

It was with a sense of that sort of public service in mind that various CBS News broadcasts, from the ½ hour of THE CBS EVENING NEWS up to the 2½ hours of the CBS EARLY MORNING and CBS MORNING NEWS, devoted large percentages of their daily time to coverage of the TWA hi-jacking during the period when it was at its height.

The producers of these and other broadcasts did so upon deliberation that sought to balance the national interest and curiosity about the event with the need to place the coverage within proper journalistic bounds, as a part of the news budget of the day.

There are, of course, options to aid in such coverage. Most obvious, perhaps, is that at any time special reports can be added to the daily schedule of news broadcasts, of whatever number and length are called for.

Because every act of terrorism is different—one of the most recent marked the first instance, as we know, of hi-jacking a cruise ship—no set of procedures or standards can be mapped out that will cover every contingency.

This is especially true when journalists must comprehend and balance many aspects of these events in addition to those already cited.

For example, we must always guard against becoming a part of the story we are covering. The CBS News Book of Standards provides that we take care not to let our coverage become a platform for the demands of hostage-holders or terrorists. Our effort must be to filter their demands through the editorial process, to present them 'live' only in the most unusual circumstances, and then only with consideration and approval at the highest levels of CBS News.

In extension of this concern, the overall balance must also include considerations of affecting the public unduly; of affecting security and military secrecy; of affecting domestic and foreign politics; of creating pressures on governments, either our own or others, to do (or not to



Associated Press and The New York Times

ABOVE: Passengers waving from deck as the Achille Lauro arrived in Port Said, Egypt on October 10, 1985 after nearly 48-hours of captivity by four Palestinian hijackers. Authorities were not aware that passenger Leon Klinghoffer had been slain.

BELOW: On October 30, 1985 Marilyn Klinghoffer arrived to testify before a House foreign affairs subcommittee and was greeted by Representative Daniel A. Mica.

do) something in reaction to the terrorist act; of setting up a contagion for further terrorism as a means of achieving an end; and so forth.

Each instance of terrorism adds pieces of experience to the way that broadcast and print journalists approach and carry out their coverage. The hijacking of TWA 847 added such pieces, in its involvement, for example, of reports of military movements; the case of the Achille Lauro cruise ship taught us how unexpected the nature of terrorism can be, how difficult to cover because of the difficulty—impossibility in that case—of getting to the story.

We learn. One of the things we learn is paradoxical—that in the face of all the increasing levels and variety of terrorism, our written standards may change little, if

at all. This is so because they tend in the first place to be cast in general terms, in basics, and in goals, leaving room for maximum maneuverability. Thus, we can maintain wider guidelines while wedding them to the values of experience and of ad hoc particulars, as we learn them, event by event.

Some in government and elsewhere have suggested that the lesson to be learned from terrorism in the news is to report nothing, or to report only in an unnaturally limited way, on such events. This concept takes us down a dangerous road for a nation with a free press and a public that has come to expect full information on significant matters.

Better, it seems, to let editors be editors, present the coverage to the extent it deserves, while mentally standing back

to assure that the special nature of such stories is held within the proper bounds of the journalistic considerations already mentioned.

The overall learning process takes both occasional and ordered forms. There is certainly no news organization that does not, at least tacitly, undertake something of a post mortem, formal or informal, of its procedures after a significant terrorist event (or, for that matter, any other important news event).

This allows us as organizations, as broadcast units, even as individuals, to profit by the experience professionally, to reset our thinking on the basis of it.

Terrorism is not a thing of beauty or attraction, but for journalists it has this single benefit.

Terrorism Linked to Drugs As Soviet Economic Weapon

By George Melloan
Deputy Editor, Editorial Page
Wall Street Journal

Clearly, international terrorism and its concomitant, the worldwide drug trade, have become a serious problem for the non-communist world. Of the problem's three dimensions—political, social and economic—the economic dimension is probably the least important. But it is not inconsequential. Aside from the direct costs, in damage to lives and property and spending for protection, all threats to national security have economic consequences.

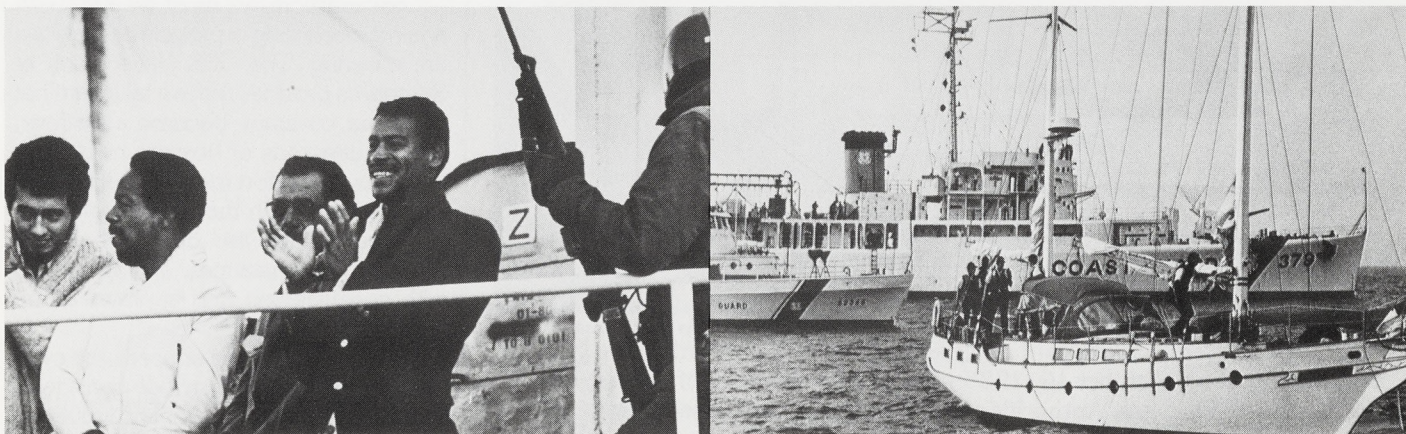
It is no accident that terrorist attacks usually are aimed at democracies, and those of Europe and Latin America in

particular. The worldwide apparatus for training, equipping and financing terrorists is primarily a communist bloc invention, presumably aimed at aiding whatever terrorists might do to “destabilize” democracies and thus further Soviet geopolitical ambitions.

The simultaneous attacks at Rome and Vienna airports were of course traced to Libya, a Soviet client state ruled by the only national leader in the world who describes himself as a terrorist. Arms originally shipped to Nicaragua's Sandinistas turned up in the wreckage of Colombia's Justice Ministry after it was sacked by M-19 terrorists, who seemed to be mainly interested in burning evidence dealing with drug running. The Sandinistas get their arms from various

Soviet-bloc nations.

And then, of course, there was the terrorist assault on Pope John Paul II in 1981. The Rome trial of seven Bulgarians and Turks charged with having aided the gunman Mehmet Ali Agca produced further evidence that Bulgaria's secret service uses its links with the drug-running underworld of Turkey and Western Europe to recruit and finance agents and terrorists. The Soviet Union's security agencies maintain close links with counterpart agencies in other nations of what the Soviets call the “socialist community,” Bulgaria in particular. Some Sovietologists assert that for all practical purposes, the Soviet KGB and military GRU run these agencies through control over the training and promotion of their



Associated Press

LEFT: Crew-members of a Panamanian-registered freighter arrested by the U.S. Coast Guard. Ship carried 60 tons of marijuana. **RIGHT:** Sailing vessel carrying smaller load of only 5 to 7 tons of marijuana could not elude this Coast Guard cutter off the Virginia coast.

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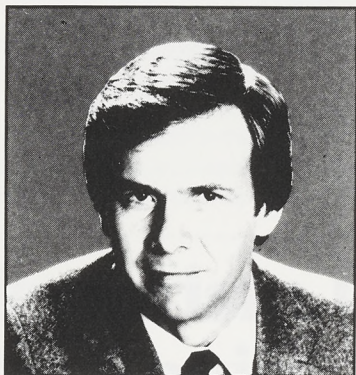
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NBC NEWS
ON THE MOVE

ranking officers.

The point of these three examples is to stress that terrorism is not the result of spontaneous actions by aggrieved Arabs, Irishmen or Latinos, although individuals with deep social and political grievances usually are part of any terrorist apparatus. Terrorists are, on the whole, sponsored groups with a primary mission of economic and social disruption and the ultimate goal of creating sufficient disorder to force governments to grant political concessions. They are, in short, the foot soldiers in a low-grade armed struggle between the communist and non-communist nations.

That terrorist groups can cause economic disruption goes without saying. After the airport shootings the newspaper *Die Presse* in Vienna reported hotels and airlines suffered thousands of cancellations by tourists who had decided that travel to Europe's beauty spots was no longer worth the risk. How much of this business loss was a result of the attacks and how much the result of a declining dollar was indeterminable but anecdotal evidence suggested that terrorism was an important factor.

In Latin America, the terrorist tactic of kidnapping businessmen to raise money to finance yet further terrorist or guerrilla activities has discouraged business investment from abroad in some countries and has no doubt prompted some business leaders to seek safer havens in places like Miami and New York. Usually they have endeavored to take their capital with them, thus adding to the foreign exchange problems of the nations they have left. Here too, it can never be entirely clear how much capital flight is attributable to terrorism and how much to failed economic policies by governments suffering the loss. But the two often go hand in hand.

The links between terrorism and the drug trade were explored in an article on the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal* on February 10 by Rachel Ehrenfeld of Columbia University's School of International Affairs and Michael Kahan of Brooklyn College. They quoted, for example, testimony in a Miami drug case in which a former drug runner claimed that Cuban Vice Admiral Aldo Santamaria-Cuadrando had told the crew of a cargo ship smuggling \$10 million in drugs that "We are going to fill Miami completely with drugs...so that more young Americans will die."

The worldwide drug business is so huge that even the relatively small part of it that yields revenues to terrorist and guerrilla groups can finance a lot of arms purchases, false passports, explosives,

safe houses and other tools of the terrorists trade. One further spinoff is the development in some relatively poor countries of a parallel economy in which dollars earned in the drug trade replace the local currency as a medium of exchange for a large underground economy. The drug runners and terrorists thus become an alternative banking system, using a currency, the dollar, that is usually far more reliable than the local money. This of course, further expands the underworld's power and buys favors of all kinds. It undermines both political and economic institutions.

That power extends into the United States itself. One of the most serious effects of the drug trade in the U.S. is to corrupt law enforcement, mainly through bribes, thus weakening the force of law itself, a vital element in the makeup of any true democracy.

It is possible to overestimate the power of terrorism. Italy demonstrated that the Red Brigades could be controlled without sacrifice of legal processes. Terrorism is sensational but episodic and unlikely to inflict any permanent damage on thriving economies. Even in weak countries, the driving force of economic activity—which is simply the need for people to earn money and survive—usually is too powerful to be totally stifled by fear.

The important point about the terrorism and its concomitants is not that it in and of itself represents a clear and present danger to the democracies. Rather it is that failure to bring it under control allows a well-financed, violence-prone, anti-democratic fifth column to develop. Over time, that could become very serious indeed.

Media Coverage of Terrorism Undermined by Frenzied Competition

By David C. Venz

Mr. Venz was Director-Corporate Communications for TWA, when TWA Flight 847 was hijacked in June 1985.

He is now an airline communications consultant.

The hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in June 1985 set off an intense debate about the proper role of the media in covering events that have a high degree of political and human sensitivity.

Certainly, the unrelenting bright spotlight of media attention on this event was undoubtedly a primary factor in preserving the hostages' lives.

The fate of the seven other American hostages still being held captive in Lebanon is far less certain than that of the group from Flight 847 for the very reason that the TV crew is *not* a daily witness to their plight.

The searching eye of the camera lens provided an almost continuous stream of valuable information to our government—whether the terrorists liked it or not. But that positive benefit was balanced by a negative consideration: the continued well-being of the captives was important to the terrorists only because it allowed them to manipulate the media to champion their cause. The hostages'

survival was the terrorists' admission ticket for ongoing access to the media and world opinion.

Television's fixation for practicing journalism in bulk resulted in a rush for the ratings. Virtually anything transmitted from Beirut seemed to be aired—including some highly politicized video conceived, orchestrated and produced by the very same badguys who were holding several dozen of our fellow citizens at gunpoint.

Some broadcasters were quick to report rumors concerning the movement of U.S. commando forces for a possible rescue attempt.

The reporters on the scene, whose job it was to get the news out, performed it superbly. The real argument is not against them.

The fault rests with the network headquarters, which had the opportunity to package what was coming in responsibly before they sent it out again, and too often failed to do so—simply because getting it out *first* became an overriding consideration. That's something that simply shouldn't happen.

Watching the dozens and dozens of program interruptions with supposedly the latest developments, one had to ask whatever happened to the role of editor and journalist. It was as if the editor—that

great disciplinarian of the press—had been told to get lost.

The competitive zeal of one network reached the point where it had a four-color brochure touting its superior coverage of this story in the hands of its salesmen only days after the conclusion of the hijacking.

Somewhere there has to be a balance between the legitimate task of journalism and the balance sheet. It is questionable if journalism can get a grip on what Fred Friendly calls the "haphazard frenzy of competition"—a frenzy that results in regrettable excesses.

There was an unfortunate flap concerning whether Purser Uli Derickson did, or did not, single out for the benefit of the terrorists a group of passengers who had "Jewish sounding names." When a reporter asked the exhausted, emotionally drained purser the double-barrelled question, "how many passengers with Jewish sounding names *did you select*?" she focused on the "how many" rather than defending herself against the implied accusation that she herself had done the selecting.

It was only with some difficulty and after three days of erroneous articles, that we were able to put this unfounded and vicious rumor to rest—but not before there were actually bomb threats against TWA, Mrs. Derickson and her family from some homegrown American extremists.



Associated Press

Shiite Moslem militia officers wave a large number of reporters away from five American hostages during a news conference in Beirut. The Americans were among 40 hostages whose Trans World Airlines flight was hijacked.

And there was a network radio report suggesting the arms used by the terrorists were put aboard the plane by TWA employees in Athens. When asked for the names of those employees, the reporter ducked behind the "protecting my sources" shield. What about the protection of tomorrow's air travelers? Isn't this a case of mixing up ethics with a competitive drive to air a hot story? (This was a story that later proved to be un-

founded.)

It is debatable, perhaps unlikely, that the competitively driven news media can purge itself from such mixups. We are thus presented with a conundrum: big journalism, like any big business, is driven by economics. It is the motivation which gives our society the finest news organizations in the world.

And that is, perhaps, as it should be in a free society. But...

Terrorism and the Media

By Katharine Graham
Chairman of the Board
The Washington Post Company

The following was condensed from Mrs. Graham's speech to the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth. Known as the Churchill Lecture, it was delivered on December 6, 1985 at Guildhall, London.

I am greatly concerned that terrorist attacks will increase in the future—in number, dimension and intensity. And because the media and the terrorist are locked in a kind of mutual dance of death, I am anxious that our role in covering terrorism be subjected to rigorous scrutiny.

However, local television stations and the printed press, with which I am most familiar, have only a limited part to play in the drama of terrorism. Network television is the star.

...

Terrorism [is] goal-oriented. It is violence against innocent people in order to

achieve generally political objectives. This distinguishes terrorism from other forms of civil disturbance, including urban riots.

...

Even when terrorists issue no specific demands, as in the recent hijacking of the Egyptian plane, the goals remain, no matter how incoherent, vague or extremely broad they may be.

...

A second characteristic is that, to be effective, acts of terror require an audience. The terrorist has to communicate his own ruthlessness—his "stop-at-nothing" mentality—in order to achieve his goals. Media coverage is essential to his purpose.

Today's sophisticated technology—which creates an instant worldwide audience through satellite transmission—has added a new dimension.

Third, terrorism depends for its ultimate success on the high value some societies place on individual human life. Terrorist acts receive so much attention

precisely because they put this supreme value at risk. They are dangerous. People could die and do. If the victim, society and government were willing to place other concerns above human life, the terrorist act could not succeed.

The particularly high regard in which our people hold human life, together with massive and generally unrestrained media, have made the United States and the United Kingdom especially vulnerable to terrorism.

...

The success of terrorism in forcing political change has led some observers to conclude: terrorism is war. It is a form of warfare, moreover, in which media exposure is a powerful weapon.

As a result, we are being encouraged to restrict our coverage of terrorist actions. Mrs. Thatcher has proclaimed: "We must try to find ways to starve the terrorist and the hijacker of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend." And many people, including some reporters in the United States, share her view.

Most of these observers call for voluntary restraint by the media in covering

Medical Research— building a healthier future

If you've ever been treated for high blood pressure... heart disease... diabetes... or almost any health problem, medical progress based on research has already touched your life.

Because of medical research, polio no longer strikes in epidemic proportions every summer. Today about three-quarters of patients diagnosed as having Hodgkin's disease will survive five years or longer—as opposed to less than half twenty years ago. Current treatment options for people with heart disease and high blood pressure include medication that helps the body's natural regulators to control blood pressure and volume, enabling the heart to function with less strain.

Scientists are now working on new ways of treating such devastating afflictions as heart disease, cancer and Alzheimer's disease. They are testing new enzyme inhibitors that may control or reverse the late complications of diabetes. Forthcoming breakthroughs in understanding biological processes and treating disease may change the quality and perhaps the length of your life.

Medical research leading to such results takes years of patient, often frustrating experimentation by many different teams throughout the public and private sectors of our scientific community. The tasks involved are not simple.

Advances in research stem from a partnership that includes federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH), universities and teaching hospitals across America, and private industry laboratories. Each partner often works independently to acquire knowledge and test new concepts. They must build on the knowledge developed in all laboratories, and they often coordinate efforts in their search for answers.

Whether an idea originates in a university laboratory or starts with basic product research carried on in the private sector, important findings percolate through the entire scientific community, where each new finding serves as a building block to establish a deeper under-

standing of what we are and how we function.

Medical research is an expensive process. It needs steady funding for equipment and personnel—even when progress is slow. Government and industry often work with university-based scientists and the medical profession not only in the acquisition of new knowledge and the development of new treatments, but also in funding these advances.

Now more than ever, we all must do our part to help keep the flow of discoveries active and ongoing. If funding for medical research is reduced, major advances in knowledge about some of the most dreaded diseases facing us today could be delayed for years to come.

What can you do?

- *Speak up.* Let your legislators know that you want funding of biomedical research by NIH and other government agencies to be kept at the highest possible levels.
- *Contribute* to voluntary health organizations supporting disease research.

Research-based pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer are also increasing their financial investment in research. For instance, in 1984 alone, pharmaceutical companies in the United States spent over 4 billion dollars on research and product development.

At the same time, we at Pfizer realize the importance of committing more than money to research. As a partner in healthcare, we are continually working to discover new ideas, test new concepts, and turn new understanding to practical and beneficial uses. Now we are working harder than ever to make sure that this nation's medical research effort receives the attention—and funding—it deserves.

For more information on the future of medical research in America, write to Health Research U.S.A., P.O. Box 3852 ER, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.



PHARMACEUTICALS • A PARTNER IN HEALTHCARE

Class 1

The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad. Honorarium: \$1,000 from AT&T.

Winner:

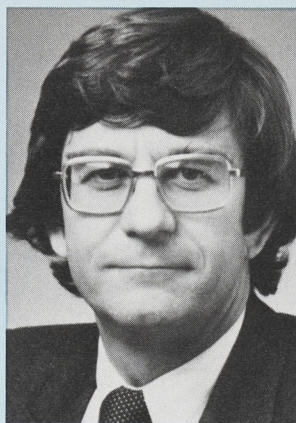
Joseph B. Treaster
The New York Times for coverage of the Colombian volcano

Citations:

Michael Parks, the Los Angeles Times, for "South Africa: Violence Grows as Hope Fades"
Patrick Oster, The San Jose Mercury News, for "Mexico Earthquake"

Special Citation:

UPI Beirut Bureau for group coverage of the hijacking of TWA Flight 847



Class 2

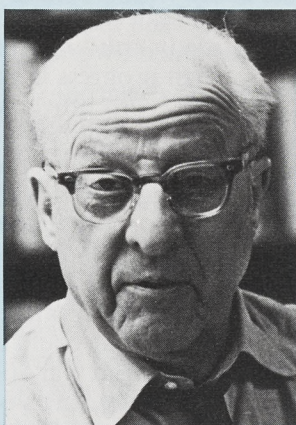
The Bob Considine Award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs. Honorarium: \$1,000 from King Features Syndicate.

Winner:

Joseph C. Harsch
The Christian Science Monitor for commentary on international developments

Citations:

Frank Wright, The Minneapolis Star-Tribune, for "Israel Under Stress"
Glenn Frankel, The Washington Post, for "The Struggle in South Africa"



The judges in Classes 1 and 2 were Henry Cassidy, Peter French, Rosalind Massow and Ansel Talbert.

Class 3

The Robert Capa Gold Medal for photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise. Medal and \$1,000 Honorarium from Life Magazine.

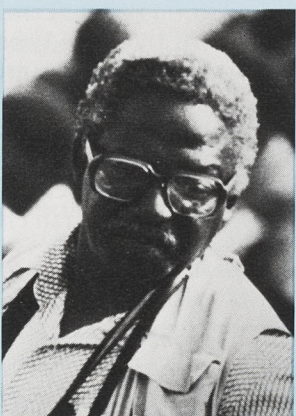
Winner:

Peter Magubane
Time Magazine for "Cry for Justice: Cry for Peace," from South Africa

Citations:

Anthony Suau of Black Star for coverage in National Geographic of Eritrea and Afghanistan
Steve McCurry for National

Geographic, for "Along Afghanistan's War-Torn Frontier"
Alfred Yaghobzadeh for Newsweek, for "Life Among the Ruins" in Lebanon



The 1985 Overseas Press Club Awards

By Morton Frank, Chairman,
OPC Awards Committee

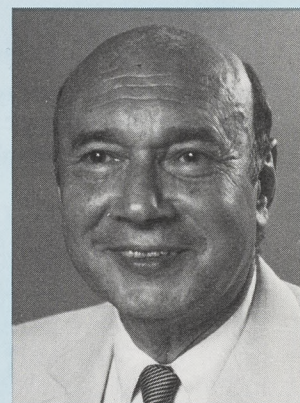
Participants in the annual Overseas Press Club awards contest rightfully consider it one of the world's most prestigious journalistic competitions. So do a lot of other people.

This year's all-time high record number of entries were carefully scrutinized, discussed, analyzed, debated, voted on, chosen by 41 men and women volunteer judges of varied longtime experience. They dedicated painstaking effort to be sure that what they finally deemed the best received proper recognition.

In the 46 years of the OPC contest's history to date, this year's entries numbered almost 500, the greatest number ever. Many subjects were covered, all timely. The topics most often written about or pictured were turmoil in South Africa, plane hijacking, the Mexican earthquake, the Colombian volcanic outbursts, and Afghanistan—but many other subjects also were treated eloquently and graphically: China, Ethiopia, Iran, Israel, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Russia, Vietnam, and the USA-USSR summit, as examples of some of many.

This year also made available the largest amount of cash as prizes for first place winners, in addition to scrolls, certificates, medals and/or plaques.

Twenty-nine different organizations from all over the USA won awards, for their coverage of events, situations and people overseas. Many more than 29 newspapers, magazines, syndicates, radio and television stations, networks, artists, book publishers, and services submitted one or more entries. The high calibre of distinguished journalism prevails literally all over our great country: south and north, east and west and midwest, everywhere.



**By Cheryl McCall, Co-Chairman,
OPC Awards Committee**

1985 and the early months of 1986 have proved to be a period filled with both memorable and alarming events. We have seen the overthrow of two dictatorships, the explosion of the Shuttle Challenger, the insidious poisonings introduced into over-the-counter drugs, and a continuing threat of terrorism in every part of the world. And since the attention of the world is, and should be directed at attempts to cope with the terrorist threats, we have devoted this issue of Dateline to a review of terrorism by leading journalists and by those who were victims of terrorist attacks.

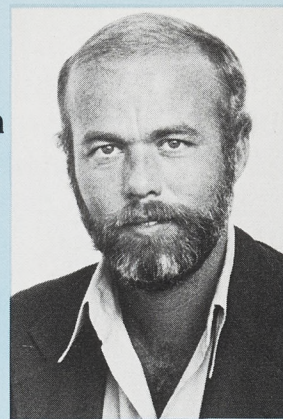
The press has come under review and criticism for its coverage of terrorism this past year. The question arises whether the media in covering the news actually helps the cause of terrorism by publicizing it, and even manipulating it—especially in the case of the electronic media, where there is so much repetition and visualization of the news. The articles in this issue of Dateline indicate that there is a wide divergence of opinion as to the way in which the media has handled the terrorism question, but they all seem to emphasize the idea that there should be no interference from the government that would serve the political views of the administration. It seems to me that Alexis De Tocqueville said it best a century ago: "In order to enjoy the inestimable benefits that the liberty of the press ensures, it is necessary to submit to the inevitable evils that it creates."

As an organization dedicated to press freedom, the OPC can only follow the dictates of our profession and of our membership. But as always we ask that the press censor itself in assuming responsibility for the kind and extent of coverage it applies to any event.



Class 4a

The Olivier Rebbot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines and books.
Honorarium: Plaque and \$500 from Newsweek.



Winner:

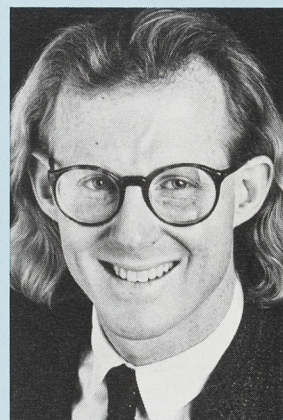
David Hume Kennerly
Time Magazine for "Behind Closed Doors," at the Reagan-Gorbachev Geneva meeting

Citations:

Michael Thomas Coyne, Magazine, for "Cry the Pitiless Land,"
National Geographic, for "Iran Under the Ayatollah" from Ethiopia
Mary Ellen Mark, Life

Class 4b

For best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services.



Winner:

David Carl Turnley
The Detroit Free Press for "South Africa: Living Under Apartheid"

Citations:

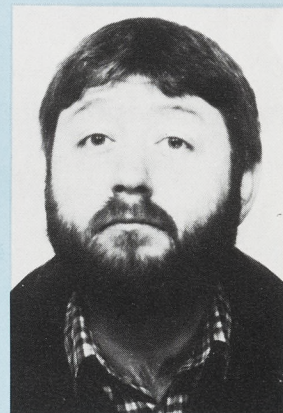
Carol Guzy and Michel DuCille, The Miami Herald, for "Armero: Buried Alive"
David Walters, The Miami Herald, for "Mexico City's Nightmare"

Durniak, Cornell Capa, Karen Mullarkey, Arnold Drapkin, Renee Bruns, Howard Chapnick and Nancy Moran. Ms. Mullarkey and Messrs. Drapkin and Chapnick did not participate in judging Classes 3 and 4a.

The judges of Classes 3 and 4 were Charles E. Rotkin, John

Class 5

The Ben Grauer Award for best radio spot news reporting from abroad.



Winner:

Philip Till
NBC Radio Network for coverage of TWA Flight 847

Citations:

Peter Maer, Mutual Radio Network, for coverage of the Mexico City earthquake
Maggie Fox, Mutual Radio Network, for coverage of the Beirut TWA Hijacking

Class 6

The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation of foreign affairs. Honorarium: \$1,000 from Capital Cities Communications.

Winner:

Karen Burnes

ABC Entertainment Network for "Reporter's Journal: Ethiopia"

Citations:

The Christian Science Monitor's Monitoradio, for innovative team reporting of overseas events

The judges of Classes 5 and 6 were David Anderson, F. N. Littlejohn, William Kratch, Milan Skacel and Gene Sosin.



Class 7

Best television spot news reporting from abroad.

Winner:

Bill Moyers

CBS Evening News for "Africa: Struggle for Survival"

Citation:

Freelance producer Jon Alpert for "Vietnam 1985" on NBC Nightly News and The Today Show



Class 8

The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs.

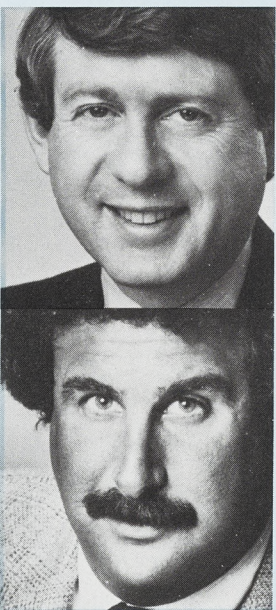
Winners:

Ted Koppel and Richard N. Kaplan
ABC News Nightline for a series on South Africa

Citation:

Cable News Network, for "Iran: in the Name of God"

The judges in Classes 7 and 8 were David Shefrin, Kim Gantz and Arthur Unger.



■ The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad, accompanied by a \$1,000 honorarium from AT&T, goes to Joseph B. Treaster of The New York Times.

During the night of November 13, 1985, the Nevado de Ruiz volcano in northern Colombia erupted, pouring hot lava and mud over the landscape, burying thousands of people in a modern Pompeii.

The next day Mr. Treaster, chief of the Caribbean bureau of The New York Times, flew over the scene and covered the story on the ground, providing a dramatic account of the tragedy.

He described the town of Armero, lost under a "sea of mud," and reported the heroic efforts to rescue survivors. His first estimate was that 20,000 persons were feared dead. Days later, as he concluded his coverage, the count was about 23,000.

■ The Bob Considine Award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs, with a \$1,000 honorarium from King Features Syndicate, was won by Joseph C. Harsch of The Christian Science Monitor.

Mr. Harsch, senior columnist for the Monitor, has covered virtually every part of the globe for more than 55 years. Now back in the United States, his long experience is reflected in his clear, penetrating analysis of the news abroad.

During 1985, his columns interpreted day-to-day developments from South Africa to the Soviet Union. He explained the civil war in Lebanon from a historical point of view; pointed out the lessons to be learned from Vietnam; saw the possibility of a peaceful solution in South Africa, and he illuminated the problem of power politics between East and West in groping toward stabilization of the new world, born out of the flames of World War II.

■ The Robert Capa Gold Medal and a \$1,000 honorarium from Life Magazine, for photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise, goes to Peter Magubane for "Cry for Justice: Cry for Peace," in Time Magazine.

Mr. Magubane, who lives in the black township Soweto, has been covering South Africa for more than 20 years. His urge is ever to be where the action is and this, combined with his ability to travel where others cannot, exposes him to frequent danger—and has led to arrests, solitary confinement, and banning. Funerals are the only place blacks are allowed to gather to express their grief, anger, and hopes. Last year, while covering one in Leandra, armed only with his Leica, he intervened to stop a group of angry, armed vigilantes who had just hacked a man to death with machetes from killing three of the man's woman relatives.

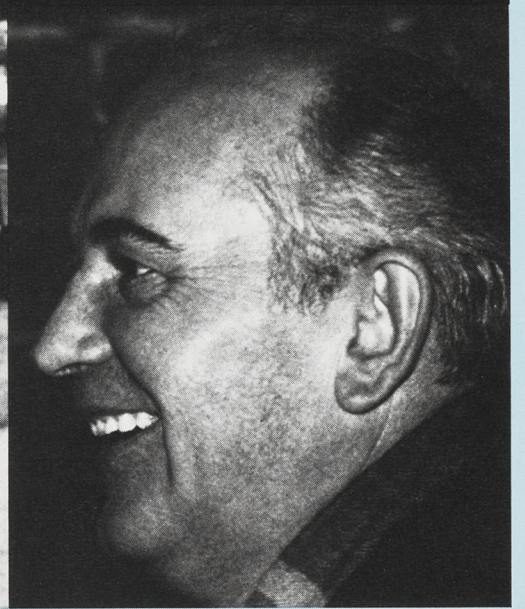
His pictures of life, violence, and death, are marked by sensitivity and empathy.



Class 3 winner
Peter Magubane
Time Magazine



*Class 4a winner
David Hume Kennerly
Time Magazine*



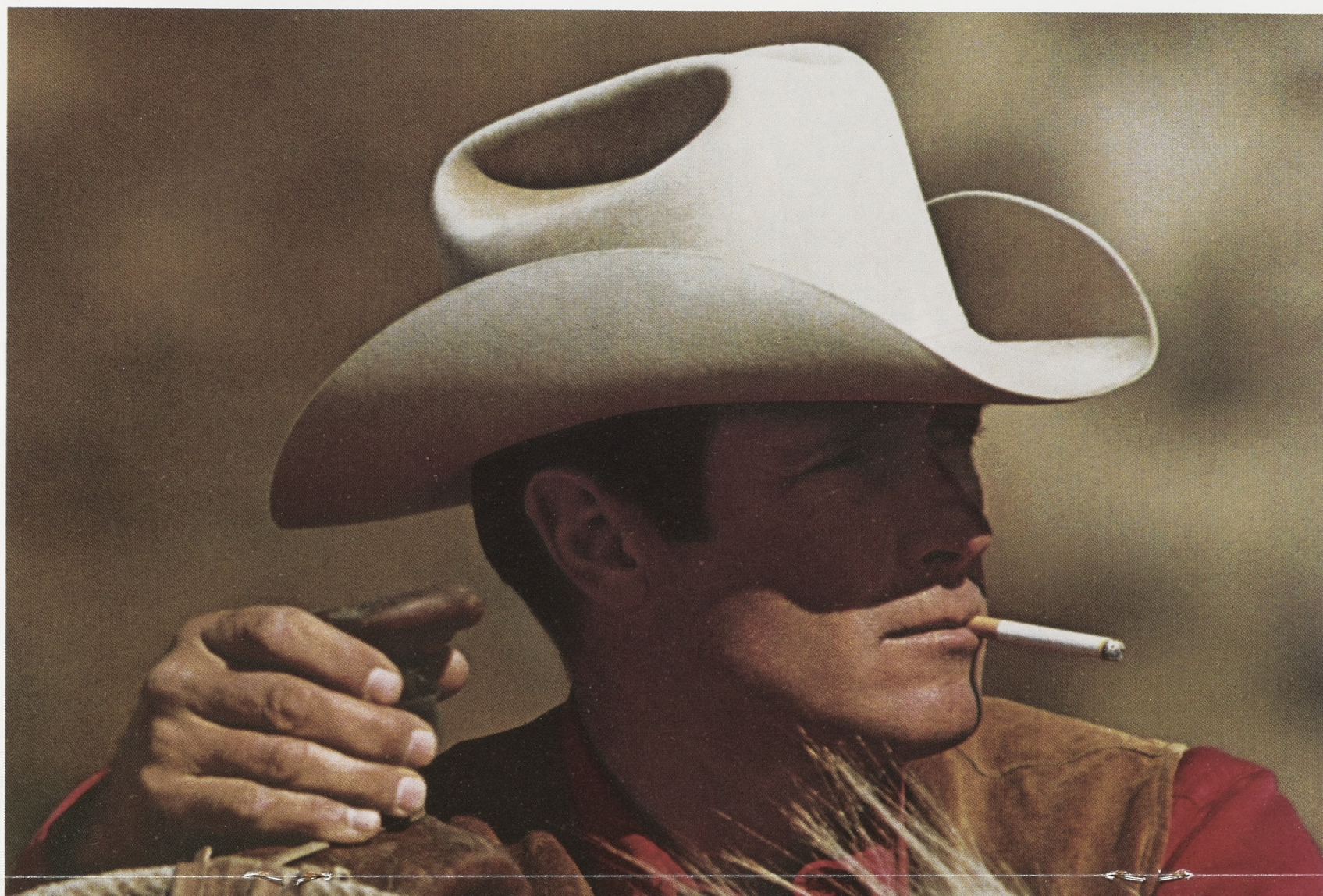
FLY THE LEADER.

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In this world of warmed-over ideas, it's comforting to know that one company has gone all-out to give the airline industry new 21st Century technology, superb new fuel efficiencies and new passenger comforts. And consequently added a whole new family to meet the airlines' marketing needs.

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you get a lot to like.

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av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb. '85

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Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.

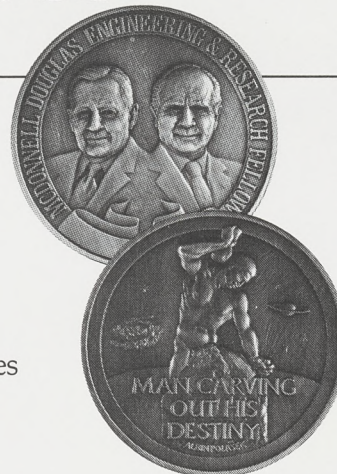
Amer, Bozich, Hess, Juergens & Ross

These are the kind of Fellows who are
making the world we'll live in tomorrow.

These are five top achievers in technology — newly named McDonnell Douglas Engineering and Research Fellows.

Our company searches out and develops men and women who are creative leaders in their work. We surround them with challenges to be met. We provide them with the facilities to fulfill their potential and with opportunities for advancement in the fields in which they do their best work.

Amer, Bozich, Hess, Juergens and Ross bring progress and honor to our company. They represent in the world of technology what the Albin Polasek sculpture shown here represents in art: Mankind carving its own destiny.



Kenneth B. Amer has gained industry-wide recognition for his substantial contributions to rotary-wing aeronautics. With his remarkable grasp of all technical aspects of helicopter design and testing, he was a key team member in the development of the OH-6A and AH-64 helicopters.

Dr. William F. Bozich has applied his expertise to the investigation of laser vulnerability, lethality, and hardening of missiles and aircraft to laser radiation. Two of his laser hardening design concepts are currently under development in SDI research programs.

John L. Hess is an aerodynamics engineer whose nearly 30 years' work with air flow and acoustics radiation problems has led to worldwide textbook standards for aircraft

design. His test methods are used daily throughout industry and have influenced the design of all of our own commercial jet transports.

Raymond J. Juergens has brought exceptional talent and ingenuity to the advancement of composite materials technology. His knowledge and experience in non-metallics has been a significant factor in the success of our company's F-15, F/A-18, and AV-8B aircraft.

Monte Ross has pioneered in the development of space laser communications. Research and development launched under his leadership led to the first lasercom equipment to be space qualified, and has brought important advances in laser communications to submarines.

"Man Carving Out His Destiny"

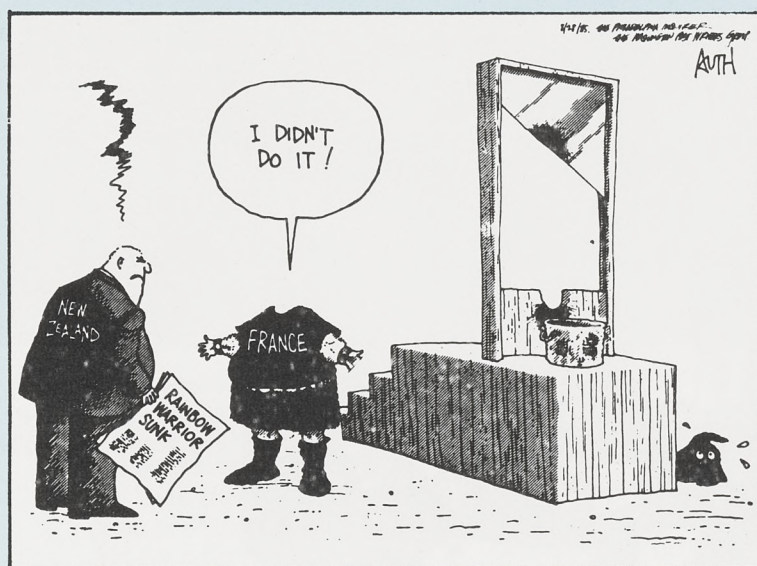
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS





*Class 4b winner
David Carl Turnley
The Detroit Free Press*





Class II winner
Tony Auth
The Philadelphia Inquirer

■ The Olivier Rebbot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines and books, with a plaque and a \$500 honorarium from Newsweek, was awarded to David Hume Kennerly for "Behind Closed Doors," in Time Magazine.

In a remarkable coup of journalistic enterprise, Mr. Kennerly proposed to the White House the day the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting was announced that he cover the inside story exclusively. He had covered the White House for Time for years, served a stint as official White House photographer, and earned a reputation for professional excellence and discretion. After long negotiation, both governments agreed.

On this assignment, he photographed the President, waiting expectantly for his first meeting with Gorbachev; the two talking vigorously together; aides from both sides waiting nervously while Reagan and Gorbachev disappeared for long, unscheduled, private conversations. His coverage combined history with drama.

■ The award for best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services goes to David Carl Turnley of The Detroit Free Press for "South Africa: Living Under Apartheid."

Mr. Turnley spent a half year in South Africa, producing what's probably the most comprehensive photographic coverage of that troubled land. He produced photo essays on each of the ethnic groups that make up the stratified country, from the Afrikaner farmer to the English schoolboy, the black who works far from his family's homeland, the Indian community, the various tribes, and a private essay on the private as well as public life of Bishop Tutu. His coverage reflected intelligence and vision.

■ The Ben Grauer Award for best radio spot news reporting from abroad was awarded this year to Philip Till of the NBC Radio Network for his coverage of the hijacking of TWA Flight 847.

During the crisis Mr. Till anchored literally hundreds of NBC hourly newscasts and special reports live from Beirut. His on-the-scene reporting of the day-to-day events comprised excellent professional description with colorful detail, succinct interviews, and presented the story clearly and in a calm manner in spite of the widespread confusion surrounding the situation. He passed the test of making the listeners feel they were there themselves.

■ The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation of foreign affairs, with a \$1,000 honorarium from Capital Cities Communications, is presented to ABC News correspondent Karen Burnes for "Reporter's Journal: Ethiopia."

Reporting for the ABC Entertainment Network's News Division, Ms. Burnes described a Marxist

country trying with polite red tape to prevent Westerners from seeing its leaders' plush quarters and well-fed army, and its people starving to death. She describes orphans spindly and emaciated but cheerful, putting on donated cast-off clothes, delighted to have a gift. Her vivid word pictures depicted the awfulness of the tragedy and desperate attempt to help.

■ The award for best television spot news reporting from abroad was won by Bill Moyers of CBS News for "Africa: Struggle for Survival."

In this week-long mini-documentary series, a major commitment of air time during daily news broadcasts, Mr. Moyers examined the famine and looked to the future. He showed an international airlift with Polish helicopters and Luftwaffe airplanes dropping American wheat to Ethiopian camps; a refugee camp of happy playing children, who were dying at the rate of 12 a day—down from 100 a day six months earlier; a truck of grain arriving by accident in a squatters' camp in Sudan. He explored how communist Ethiopia exploited the tragedy out of ideology, and capitalist Sudan exploited it out of greed. And he examined long-term trends in population, agriculture and deforestation, and found them discouraging.

■ The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs was presented to Ted Koppel and Richard N. Kaplan of ABC News Nightline for a week-long series of programs on South Africa.

After months of negotiation, this week-long series of shows running 40 to 90 minutes brought into direct debate for the first time the most prominent, imposing leaders of all the contending elements in South Africa. Since laws prohibited many of these persons to be in the same room together, the confrontations took place with remote cameras. Prime Minister Botha in his capital and Bishop Tutu in his church, in one-to-one debate. The Minister responsible for separating the races debated the head of the Soweto Council. A remarkable round table included the head of the far right faction of the Government, the chief of the Zulus, and Oliver Tambo, a wanted man in South Africa, participating from Zambia.

Many—but not all—segments of the programs were shown locally, enabling South Africans for the first time to see white leaders face blacks in direct public confrontation.

■ The Ed Cunningham Award for best magazine reporting from abroad, with a \$500 honorarium, was presented to Henry Scott Stokes for "Lost Samurai" in Harper's.

One rarely gets a straight answer in Japan, writes the veteran correspondent, who returned after a year's absence to probe more deeply beneath the surface

Class 9

The Ed Cunningham Award for best magazine reporting from abroad. Honorarium: \$500.

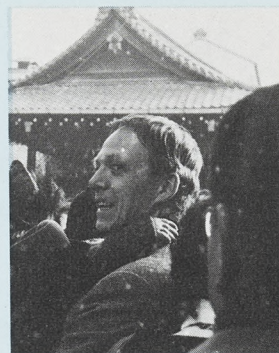
Winner:

Henry Scott Stokes
Harper's for "Lost Samurai"

Citations:

Jacqueline Sharkey, Common Cause Magazine, for "Disturbing the Peace"

David Lee Preston, The Philadelphia Inquirer Sunday Magazine, for "Journey to My Father's Holocaust"



Class 10

The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for best magazine story on foreign affairs. Honorarium: \$500.

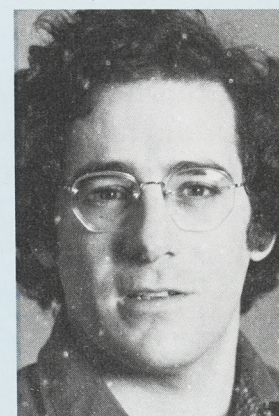
Winner:

Robert Rosenthal
The Philadelphia Inquirer Sunday Magazine for "South Africa: the Fires of Revolution"

Citation:

Robert Cox, for "Argentina: Souring of the Democratic Dream," in Harper's

The judges in Classes 9 and 10 were H. L. Stevenson, Lucinda Franks, Jim Head and Don Shanor.



Class 11

Best cartoon on foreign affairs. Honorarium: \$150 from The New York Daily News.

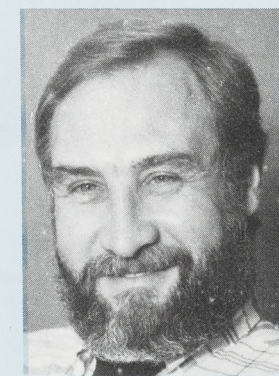
Winner:

Tony Auth
The Philadelphia Inquirer

Citation:

Douglas Marlette, The Charlotte Observer

The judges in Class 11 were John Prescott, Jim Donna, William McBride and Michael Pakenham.



Class 12

Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad in magazines or books.
The Mort Frank Award of \$500.

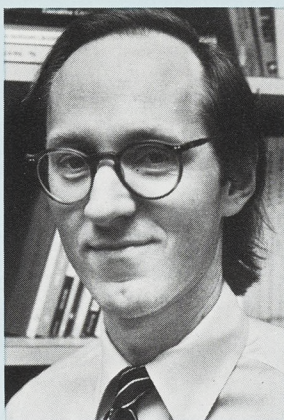
Winner:

Michael Meyer & team
Newsweek for
"Here Comes Korea, Inc."

Citations:

Daniel Burstein, Omni Magazine, for "Future Shock Rolls over China"

John Pearson, Alex Beam, Mark D'Anastasio, Robert Dowling and team, Business Week, for "Gorbachev's Russia"



the country he covered for five years for the New York Times. With the Japanese-American trade imbalance, thoughts increase of asking Japan to remove the burden of its defense from the United States by remilitarizing. Unthinkable? No, says Mr. Stokes, warning that Japan could within 20 years become "one of the most militarily powerful nations in the world."

■ The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for best magazine story on foreign affairs, with a \$500 honorarium, goes to Robert Rosenthal for "South Africa: the Fires of Revolution" in the Philadelphia Inquirer Sunday Magazine.

Based in Nairobi, Mr. Rosenthal has reported on the widespread famine and numerous other stories from Africa. His examination of apartheid in South Africa, of the Afrikaner and the black and their everyday hopes and fears, provides sharply focused detail of this burning issue that flames almost daily in that nation and around the world.

■ The award for best cartoon on foreign affairs, with a \$150 honorarium from The New York Daily News, was won by Tony Auth of The Philadelphia Inquirer.

Mr. Auth's work reflects an analytic and critical seriousness that is exceptional. While his cartoons are sharp-edged and clearly focused, they demonstrate a sophistication and a professional journalistic imprint that is as impressive as it is unusual. His unique style delivers substance and impact, and is never cute. He won from among 49 entrants who this year focused on South Africa, the Mid East, hunger, terrorism, Nicaragua and the Summit meeting.

■ For best business and/or economic reporting from abroad in magazines or books, the Mort Frank Award of \$500 goes to Michael Meyer and a team of Newsweek International correspondents for "Here Comes Korea, Inc."

The comprehensive and perceptive article describes the rapid expansion of South Korea's economy and its mounting exports, notably of computers and a variety of consumer electronic products to European and U.S. markets. It notes growing comparisons between Korea's economic surge and the earlier export miracle engineered by its northern neighbor, Japan; and analyzes whether Korea's economy—15 times smaller—will prove a drawback. The writers explore in detail and with sensitivity roadblocks stemming from social, military and political realities, in an informative and insightful picture of a new emerging force in the Pacific.

■ The award for best business and/or economic news reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services, with a \$1,000 honorarium from Forbes Magazine, was presented to E. S. (Jim) Browning of

Class 12

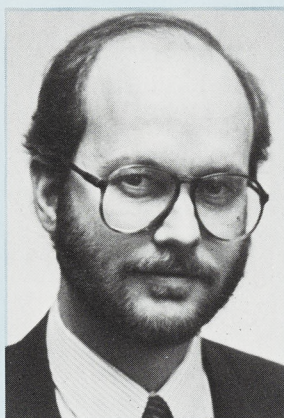
Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services.
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Forbes Magazine.

Winner:

E.S. Browning
The Wall Street Journal for
"Japan's Trade Issues and Tensions"

Citations:

Youssef M. Ibrahim, The Wall Street Journal, for articles on OPEC Wendy Tai, The Minneapolis Star & Tribune, for "China: a Journey Home"



The judges of Class 12 were H. Lee Silberman, George Bookman, Philip Keuper and James Hill.

Class 13

The Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs.

Winner:

Joseph Lelyveld
Times Books for "Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White"

Citation:

Edward Girardet, St. Martin's Press, for "Afghanistan: the Soviet War"



The judges of Class 13 were Grace Shaw, Gerold Frank, Ralph Gardner and Alex Liepa.

the Wall Street Journal Tokyo Bureau for an eight-part series on trade issues.

The series, which dealt with trade tensions between Japan and the United States, was distinguished by straightforward, probing reporting, combined with acute sensitivity to the cultural differences between the two societies. It studied how these differences in value systems affect the seemingly insoluble U.S. deficit in its trade with Japan.

In the telling, Mr. Browning succeeds in translating often dull foreign trade statistics into compelling human terms, and in explaining one society to another in the crucial and complex transnational economic arena.

■ The Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs goes this year to Joseph Lelyveld for "Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White," published by Times Books.

An unforgettable portrait of the South African way of life, this book captures the complexity of apartheid in searing detail: blacks forced to work in segregated townships hundreds of miles from their families in "homelands"; bizarre racial theories and laws that institutionalize them; poignant portraits of Afrikaner clergymen ostracized for supporting black causes, and of other Afrikaners struggling to reconcile white power with justice to forestall a black takeover.

Joseph Lelyveld, who served twice as the New York Times's correspondent in South Africa, provides a deeply personal account and a powerful indictment of apartheid.

■ The Madeline Dane Ross Award for the foreign correspondent showing a concern for the human condition, with a \$1,000 honorarium, is presented to Kristin Helmore for "The Neglected Resource: Women in the Developing World," in the Christian Science Monitor.

Ms. Helmore traveled four months through 11 countries on three continents, from Latin America, to Africa, India, Nepal and Indonesia, and spent three weeks covering the U.N. Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya, for this five-part series.

She interviewed experts, housewives, laborers, politicians, teachers, students and children. She found in some countries ambitious modernization programs—but where few benefits trickled down to women. She described women carrying heavy loads on their backs to market—when they were ill, their families went hungry; and women in Nepal seeking education accused of visiting libraries just to pick up men. Her efforts produced a compassionate coverage of the plight of women, "the neglected half of the developing world."

Class 14

The Madeline Dane Ross Award for the foreign correspondent showing a concern for the human condition. Honorarium: \$1,000.

Winner:

Kristin Helmore

Christian Science Monitor for "The Neglected Resource: Women in the Developing World"

Citation:

Dominique LaPierre, Parade Magazine, for "The Man Who Saves Children"

The judges of Class 14 were Julia Edwards, Hildegard Fillmore and Ann Stringer.



OPC Presidents Award Yelena Bonner

The President's Award given at the Annual Awards Dinner is not mandatory and is awarded at the discretion of the President to an individual whose efforts have proved outstanding in some area of human endeavor. This year President Anita Diamant selected Yelena Bonner as the recipient of this award for her continued efforts to defend human rights in the Soviet Union at her own great personal peril.

Yelena Bonner, the wife of Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov, physicist and Nobel Peace Prize winner, spent the years since Dr. Sakharov's trial, mobilizing support for her husband's freedom. She traveled from Gorky, where her husband was exiled, to Moscow in order to bring food and supplies to him and to present his appeals. Finally, she was tried and sentenced to five years of exile on charges of anti-Soviet slander and was confined to Gorky.

The Soviets have allowed Miss Bonner to travel to our country, where she has undergone medical treatment. But her continued courage and efforts on behalf of her husband, as well as other Soviet dissidents, has earned her our admiration and respect and we are grateful for this opportunity to honor her tonight.



A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE



Nine Domestic Bureaus and Ten Foreign Bureaus Bring the World to Chicago.

The Chicago Tribune is a recognized leader in national and international reporting. Chicago Tribune writers are located throughout the United States and around the world.

They report the news where it happens, firsthand, directly to their readers in Chicago and the Midwest.

The Chicago Tribune maintains nine separate domestic bureaus outside of Chicago: New York,

Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Dallas, Denver, St. Louis and Springfield (Illinois).

It staffs ten international bureaus: London, Moscow, Hong Kong, Peking, Mexico City, Toronto, Tokyo, Nairobi, the Mideast, and now, Poland.

So when the news breaks, whether it's here at home or across the ocean, Chicago Tribune readers receive the news firsthand from a staff that is in-place, on location.

Chicago Tribune

A great city deserves a great newspaper.

terrorist actions. But some go so far as to sanction government control—censorship, in fact—should the media fail to respond.

...
I am against *any* government-imposed restrictions on the free flow of information about terrorist acts.

I believe even media-sponsored guidelines would be too broad to be useful or would be forgotten in the heat of a crisis. Instead, I am in favor of as full and complete coverage of terrorism by the media as is possible. Here are my reasons.

To begin with, terrorist acts are impossible to ignore. They are simply too big a story to pass unobserved. If the media did not report them, rumor would abound. And rumors can do much to enflame and worsen a crisis.

Second, the specialists with whom I spoke find no compelling evidence that terrorist attacks would cease if the media stopped covering them. On the contrary, they believe the terrorists would only *increase* the number, scope and intensity of their attacks.

...
Third, I believe our citizens have a right to know what the government is doing to resolve crises and curb terrorist attacks. Some of the solutions raise disturbing questions.

...
At the same time, I believe that the media can help the government resolve terrorist crises and save lives, even though it is not our role to do so.

Media coverage of terrorist events can be an insurance policy for hostages. The minute hostages appear on television, they may be somewhat safer. By giving the terrorists an identity, we make them assume more responsibility for their captives.

The government also relies, to some extent, on the news media for information about certain crises, information that can be used to resolve them. One government official acknowledged to me that American news organizations have more resources to devote to these crises—in money, people and technology—than does the State Department. We also sometimes have greater access to the perpetrators.

...
Covering terrorist acts presents very real and exceedingly complex challenges as well. There are limits to what the media can and should do.

...
The first issue involves knowing how to gather and reveal information without making things worse, without endangering the lives of hostages or jeopardizing national security.

These potential disasters have led to discussions between the police and the media on how each could work better with the other in future crises. A more professional approach and mutual trust on both sides have resulted.

At the beginning of a crisis, most authorities now know it is best to establish a central point where reliable information can be disseminated as quickly and as efficiently as possible.

And the media, knowing that the authorities intend to help them obtain the information they need, are much more willing to cooperate.

In particular, the media are willing to—and do— withhold information that is likely to endanger human life or jeopardize national security.

...
Tragically, however, we in the media have made mistakes. You may recall that in April 1983, some 60 people were killed in a bomb attack on the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. At the time, there was coded radio traffic between Syria, where the operation was being run, and Iran, which was supporting it.

Alas, one television network and a newspaper columnist reported that the U.S. government had intercepted the traffic. Shortly thereafter the traffic ceased. This undermined efforts to capture the terrorist leaders and eliminated a source of information about future attacks.

...
This kind of result, albeit unintentional, points up the necessity for full cooperation wherever possible between the media and the authorities.

...
A second challenging issue the media have to address is how to prevent the terrorists from using the media as a platform for their views.

...
The media must make every attempt to minimize the propaganda value of terrorist incidents and put the actions of

terrorists into perspective. We have an obligation to inform our readers and viewers of their background, their demands and what they hope to accomplish. But terrorists are criminals. We must make sure we do not glorify them, or give them unwarranted exposure to their point of view.

...
We often think of terrorists as unsophisticated. But many are media savvy. They can and do arrange their activities to maximize media exposure and ensure that the story is presented their way.

...
There is a real danger that terrorists not only hijack airplanes and hostages, but hijack the media as well.

...
We also try to identify carefully and repeatedly the backgrounds and biases of the people we interview, including the hostages themselves.

...
The danger in terrorist crises is that reporters may develop a Stockholm Syndrome of their own, that they may be pulled into the terrorist's rhetoric. We may appear to be too respectful of the perpetrators—although the fact they may be holding hostages at gunpoint tends to make us cautious.

That brings me to a third issue challenging the media: How can we avoid bringing undue pressure on the government to settle terrorist crises by whatever means, including acceding to the terrorist's demands?

The State Department officials with whom I spoke say that media coverage does indeed bring pressure on the government. But not *undue* pressure. However, I believe there are pitfalls of which the media should be exceedingly careful.

One is the amount of coverage devoted to a terrorist incident. During a crisis, we all want to know what is happening. But constant coverage can blow a terrorist incident far out of proportion to



Associated Press

U.S. Marines walk through the rubble of the American Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. The blast in April, 1983 killed 60 people.

its real importance. Overexposure can preoccupy the public and the government to the exclusion of other issues.

...

Another pitfall is the problem of interviewing the families of hostages. There is a natural curiosity about how those near and dear to the captured are reacting to the life-or-death event. And the hostage families themselves often are anxious to receive media attention and present their views to the public.

But there is a fine line between legitimate inquiry and exploitation of human sentiment. The media can go too far. Tasteless invasion of privacy can result. The ultimate horror is the camera that awaits in ambush to record the family's reaction to the news of some personal tragedy.

More to the point, there is a real danger that public opinion can be unjustifiably influenced by exposure to the hostage relatives and their views.

The nationwide television audience becomes, in a sense, an extended family. We get to know these people intimately. Our natural sympathies go out to them. We often come to share their understandable desire to have their loved ones back at any cost.

...

A final pitfall for the media is becoming, even inadvertently, a negotiator during a crisis. But it's tough to avoid. Simply by asking legitimate questions—such as "What are your demands?"—the media

can become part of the negotiating process. Questions that ask "What would you do if..." are particularly dangerous.

And the question put to Nabih Berri, the Amal Shiite leader, during the TWA crisis by the host of one of our morning news shows was completely out of line and is so acknowledged. He asked: "Do you have a message for the President?"

...

Technology intensifies the problems. Before the advent of satellites, there was a 24-hour delay between the moment news was gathered and the moment it was broadcast. Indeed, what appeared on the nightly news often had been in the morning paper.

...

Today our networks have the technological capability to present events live—any time, any place. As a result, the decisions about what to cover and how to cover are tougher. And they must be made faster, sometimes on the spot. The risks of making a mistake rise accordingly.

Intense competition in the news business raises the stakes even more. The electronic media in the United States live or die by their ratings, the number of viewers they attract. As a result, each network wants to be the first with the most on any big story. It's hard to stay cool in the face of this pressure.

...

The most dangerous potential result of unbridled competition is what we have

come to call the lowest-common-denominator factor.

I believe that all of the serious, professional media—print and electronic, in our country and in yours and indeed around the world—are anxious to be as responsible as possible.

...

But, unfortunately, high standards of professionalism do not guide every media organization nor every reporter. And I regret to say that once one of these less scrupulous or less careful people reports some piece of information, all the media feel compelled to follow. Thus it is true: the least responsible person involved in the process could determine the level of coverage.

In conclusion, I believe these problems are serious. But in spite of them, I believe the benefits of full disclosure far outweigh any possible adverse consequences.

...

Suppressing or rationing the news provides no solution for the long term. If a government cannot make its case through democratic means in the face of violence, then I do believe its policies must be misguided.

...

Publicity may be the oxygen of terrorists. But I say this: News is the lifeblood of liberty. If the terrorists succeed in depriving us of freedom, their victory will be far greater than they ever hoped and far worse than we ever feared. Let it never come to pass.

Major Terrorist Acts of 1985

Before the bloody attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports on Dec. 27, 1985, there were nearly 700 terrorist acts according to State Department figures.

Some of the major terrorist actions of 1985, as summarized by The New York Times, were:

March 8—Car bomb explodes outside an apartment building in Beirut, killing 80 people. Reports in Washington say later that the bombing was the work of people who had been hired by a Lebanese counterterrorist team that had been working with the C.I.A.

June 14—Trans World Airlines Flight 847, carrying 145 passengers and 8 crew members, is commandeered by Shiite Moslem hijackers after it takes off from Athens. It is forced to fly to Beirut after several flights across the Mediterranean. One passenger, an American Navy diver, is slain. The rest of the captives are released in stages, with the last group, all Americans, freed June 30.

June 19—Gunmen attack a cafe in San Salvador, killing 13 people, including 4 United States marines and 2 United States businessmen.

August 17—A car packed with dynamite explodes outside a crowded supermarket in a Christian suburb of East Beirut,

killing at least 50 people and wounding 100.

September 16—Thirty-nine people are wounded in a grenade attack at a cafe on Via Veneto in Rome. A Palestinian from Lebanon is charged in connection with the attack.

September 30—Gunmen seize three Soviet diplomats and a Soviet Embassy doctor in Beirut. One of the diplomats is found dead three days later.

October 7—Gunmen seize the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro and shoot Leon Klinghoffer, a tourist from New York City. After the gunmen give up the ship and leave Egypt by air, their plane is intercepted over the Mediterranean by United States Navy fighters. The plane carrying the gunmen is forced to land in Italy.

November 6—Rebels seize a Federal Court building in Bogotá, Colombia. Their siege ends after 28 hours and an army assault. The Justice Ministry says 95 people died, including 11 Supreme Court justices.

November 23—An Egyptair plane is hijacked on a flight from Athens to Malta. Egyptian commandos storm the plane the next day; a total of 60 people are killed during the hijacking and storming of the plane.

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The faces of South Africa



Detroit Free Press photographer David Turnley, winner of the prestigious World Press Photo Oskar Barnack Award for his series of photographs, "South Africa 1985," has been documenting apartheid since August 1985. This photograph from that award-winning series makes a subtle yet powerful statement about the divisions of race and class in South Africa. The only U.S. newspaper staff photographer in South Africa, Turnley is just one of the reasons the Detroit Free Press is one of the best.

Detroit Free Press

Michigan's Great Morning Tradition

The Sin of Silence

By Charles A. Perlik, Jr.
President, The Newspaper Guild

If I were asked to state in one word the purpose of The Newspaper Guild, I'd reply, "protection." Protection of our members against poverty, against unfairness, against loss of their jobs, against the hazards of the workplace. We think we do a pretty good job.

But when our members leave the cozy ambience of a Guild newsroom to cover the world's proliferating trouble spots, our ability to protect their most important possession—their lives—plunges sharply.

We do what little we can in the collective-bargaining context, of course—establishing the right to refuse a hazardous assignment in the first place, extra accident and life insurance for those willing to take the risks, the assurance that pay will continue come what may and that the correspondent's family will be looked after through continued medical-insurance coverage and, in the worst eventuality, a pension. But once our members are overseas, all the contract provisions in the book won't protect them against being arrested, beaten, shot or blown up.

Those are the risks they knowingly take, aware there is little that we far off can do to fend them off. But in one occupational hazard to which they are increasingly exposed, they have a right to expect a modicum of succor, and I would suggest that we back home—all of us—have fallen short in giving it to them. That hazard is one born of the last decade—the hazard of becoming a long-term hostage.

To take the two most outstanding examples:

We have Jerry Levin of Cable News Network, held prisoner for 11 1/2 months, chained blindfolded to the wall of a Lebanese apartment in solitary confinement while his captors sought to bargain him on what became a sordid international life exchange.

We have Terry Anderson of Associated Press, still being held, as this is written, nine months after being kidnapped by the same group that seized Levin.

And there are others—a British journalist, Alec Collett, and a Frenchman, Jean-Paul Kaufmann, like Levin and Anderson, bargaining chips in a bloody game. There are other, nonmedia hostages, of course, but journalists appear to be premium securities on the hostage market.

If that is the case, as I think it is, then the bell tolls not alone for them. It is incumbent on us, in the rear echelons, to live up to our responsibilities to those who stand surrogate for us. For too long, I think, we failed in that responsibility.

By doing what? By addressing protests, of course, and by seeking assistance in gaining their release in every possible quarter, from governments and private agencies alike. Much of that we have, indeed, done.

But what we can do, most of all, is what we are in business to do: cover the story of their ordeal, shine the same klieg light on it that is played on every plane-load of hostages that hits the tarmac on a Mediterranean airfield.

It is not just inattention that has kept us from doing this. It is misguided policy.

Levin, deploring the attitude of press and government alike, believes the press has paid so little attention to the plight of both its own and other hostages "in part because the government was successful in persuading many editors that press attention might get us killed."

"Press attention," he told a Congressional committee last September, "has often been blamed for the length of the

Iranian hostage crisis. Well, the ordeal of some of the seven in Lebanon has been going on longer without it. I think silence about the basic facts is what is prolonging it, because it has prevented the forming of informed public opinion which then could be brought to bear on the issue to motivate the Administration to do what surely needs to be done to get the seven freed—arrange a release."

In recent months we have improved somewhat on that record, partly under the spur of public prodding by the hostage families—Anderson's above all—and the intervention of an Anglican Church mediator on their behalf.

In doing so, I hope we will have learned an even larger lesson, one that is directly on point in the periodic public debate about media coverage of hostage-taking and other acts of terrorism.

The lesson is that, with rare exceptions, we serve public and humanitarian interests best not by covering up events but by exposing them. We should forswear those oft-cited transgressions, irresponsibility and sensationalism, yes, but of journalistic sins, these are not the deadliest.

The deadliest is silence.

Media Quest for Terrorist "Motives" Reminiscent of Nazi Apologists

By Johannes Steel
Internationally syndicated
economic and financial
columnist

The widespread preoccupation of the media, print, and in particular, broadcast, with efforts to find "motives" for Arab/Iranian terrorist outrages in some way is reminiscent of the attitude and behavior of much of the German press in the early 1930's.

The harassment which was started by the battalions of Brownshirts against the German Jews and later the Holocaust, was explained on the grounds that "after all, there were reasons". It was necessary to look to the "motives" of the raging mobs. The German people were "offended". It was widely printed that the

Jews were too prominent in the professions, art, science and literature, as well as law, leaving no room for "deserving" Germans. Furthermore, the basic problem was the "OSTJUDEN", the immigrants from Eastern Europe who were depriving the Germans of their much needed "lebensraum".

Once Hitler was firmly in power, this eventually became part of the rationale for the annexation of the Sudetenland, as well as finally Czechoslovakia—the Czechs anyway being a species of Jews. Besides, it was always pointed out that most Jews were Communists and that those who were not, were the manipulators of international finance capital.

It was the search for a rationale in a good part of the German press from

1929 to 1933 which created the climate which helped to make Hitler possible. An examination of many political cartoons published in U.S. newspapers during the past few years and especially in the summer of 1982 and in 1983 were replete with anti-Semitic themes.

Some of these cartoons in content, style, and "artistic" execution could have come right out of the pages of *Der Stuermer*. This publication was the chief purveyor of pornographic, anti-Semitic propaganda. Specifically, a cartoon by Dwane Powell, in the Raleigh (North Carolina) *News and Observer* of August 6, 1982, shows Mr. Begin atop of a tank, its smoldering cannon aimed at devastated Beirut. In the background, President Reagan and an advisor are examining the "Palestinian problem". Begin says to them, "Not to worry, I've a *Final Solution* To That."

The striking aspect of this and numerous other cartoons, such as appeared in the *Indianapolis Star* of November 5, 1981, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* of July 10, 1982, as well as July 21, 1982, the *Phoenix Gazette* of January 1, 1982, the *Escondido* (California) *Times Advocate* of June 22, 1982, the *Minneapolis Star & Tribune* of July 14, 1982, the (Louisville) *Courier Journal* of June 8, 1982, the *Seattle Times* of June 8, 1982, and the *Charlotte Observer* of August 24, 1982, have been drawn in the style of *Der Stuermer* with the same obscene facial characteristics that the Nazi paper used.

The point of all this is we have here a long-term background which has prepared the atmosphere in which television networks can describe terrorists who led the raids on the U.S. Marine barracks as boyscouts. The networks over the past few years have developed cordial relations, not only with the PLO, but any number of splinter terrorist organizations.

The television media have a tendency of making every single terrorist incident into a television spectacular, which explains the "underlying sociopolitical" reasons. As a matter of fact, the television networks have begun to be concerned. The October 26, 1985 issue of *Broadcasting* contained a report on the Beirut coverage, in which it headlines "networks learn from hindsight".

Specifically, the magazine reported on a panel session held on October 18th in New York and sponsored by the Radio/Television News Directors Association. The session was moderated by Fred Friendly, former CBS News President, who now teaches at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University in

New York. According to the *Broadcasting* report, as far as Friendly was concerned, the "low point" of the coverage was, in his view, when ABC's *Good Morning, America*'s host, in an interview with Lebanese Amal terrorist leader, Nabih Berri, asked if Berri had any "last minute message for the President". Anchor commentator Peter Jennings of ABC protested and said that "Good Morning, America" was in the entertainment division and not the news division. He said that he too thought the question transcended the bounds of journalism, in effect by putting the network in the role of diplomatic envoy.

Prior to that comment, Peter Jennings of ABC and Tom Brokaw of NBC, said that they thought the on-air coverage by their respective organizations was excessive. They pointed out that their coverage of the Achille Lauro hijacking was substantially more temperate because of the lessons learned from Beirut. Moderator Friendly, according to *Broadcasting*, raised the issue as to whether the networks were used by terrorists during the crisis and to what extent, if at all, the coverage shaped Administration policy in dealing with the crisis.

Mr. Friendly added that there were accounts that the networks were collectively "an instrument for hostages" and that as a result of network coverage, the Administration was "forced" to put the lives of the hostages above the national interest. Attention was called to interviews with the TWA hostages by CNN while they were still in captivity and under duress from the hijackers, who forced the hostages to say that the Israelis were to blame. ABC reporters provided us with a spectacle of having the airplane's captain, as a gun was held to his head, tell the world that it would not be a good idea to mount a military rescue mission.

In the long litany of television's concern with the "motives" of the terrorists, nothing was as nauseating as the comments on the murder of Robert Stethem, who had been kicked and beaten to death at the hands of Shiite captors, who, during six hours of torture, made certain to break every rib in his body and render his face unrecognizable before they shot him. On that very day, the networks presented a Greek singer, Demis Roussos, who sang of the goodness and kindness of his captors and who wept when he kissed them good-bye.

They do not seem to understand that the shadowy leadership which sends out teenagers to perpetrate such outrages as the seizing of the Achille Lauro, are not

really interested in having their demands, whatever they are, met. Any negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Army over the future of the West Bank would simply end their "raison d'etre".

Terrorists do not want to negotiate about anything, nor do they expect to achieve their stated objectives. When the Achille Lauro was hijacked, the terrorists boasted that they would blow up the ship unless fifty political prisoners in Israel were exchanged for the safety of the more than 400 passengers. Two days later, the pirates surrendered.

The broadcast media in every instance assumes that the terrorists actually mean what they say. But all they really want is an audience which the media provides. What the media does not seem to realize is that these are not acts of policy, but efforts to perpetuate the terror.

The network coverage of the TWA crisis focused only on one of several demands of the terrorists. This that Israel release 750 Shiite prisoners. Continuously the networks compared those prisoners (terrorists) with the hostages aboard the hijacked TWA airplane. There was simply no reference to other terrorist demands, which included the cutting off of United States aid to Israel, the overthrow of Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, and the release of terrorists held in Kuwait.

Terror has, in fact, become a way of life in itself, in which drugs, money, women, little boys, and the reward of dying for the glory of the life in the hereafter are the sole motives. Most of the young "activists" have never seen "Palestine", nor have they any emotional ties to that part of Jordan which used to be known as Palestine.

The exposure that the broadcast media has frequently given to the terrorists, whether following individual murders, the bombing of check-in desks in Rome and Vienna, or the bombs thrown at synagogues in Paris, have made the media instruments of the terrorists.

The attitude of the media seems to be "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". This semantic distortion excuses the smuggling of guns and grenades aboard a shipload of people and the hijacking of aircraft. The media have deliberately confused terrorists with guerrillas and freedom fighters.

Guerrillas conduct paramilitary warfare against armed forces. The Hungarians who resisted the Russian tanks in 1956 were freedom fighters. They were legitimate methods of political expressions. Arab and Iranian terrorism, to a large extent, is an end in itself.

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Terrorism and the Media! Natural Partners

By George A. Krinsky
Executive Director, New Center
for Foreign Journalists

One would hope that terrorism is merely the fad crisis of the day, like poisoned Tylenol capsules. But the experts and the signs say otherwise. This is a hazard that's likely to get worse. It stands to reason, therefore, that we should all be thinking ahead.

The media and terrorism are natural partners. They depend upon each other. It's probably safe to surmise that terrorists are doing more planning than the media, which understandably finds itself in mostly a reactive role.

When examining the media's role in this partnership, there are two audiences to think about: the terrorists and the public. More specifically, (1) is news coverage abetting terrorism, and (2) is news coverage serving the public?

Isn't it quite possible that one reason the United States, and not the Soviet Union for example, is the main target for terrorism is because of the media exposure we give it? The Soviets have been occasional targets, but we don't hear much about it and that's not very satisfying to publicity-hungry terrorists.

If exposure is what terrorists want, the U.S. media is doing a bang-up job on that front. If extensive albeit selective, and emotion-laden news coverage is what the public wants and needs, then the media is doing pretty well on that front, too. It seems little can be done to curtail exposure in the interests of discouraging publicity-seeking acts of violence. The media cannot pay a ransom of silence for civic responsibility. Its role is to inform. The issue is how it informs.

There has been the tendency in the American media to shrug off criticism of its news coverage by saying: Don't blame the messenger for the message. That answer will no longer suffice, because it is now quite obvious that the quality and quantity of the message is part of the terrorism story, part of the crisis itself. Television especially has become a prime actor in the terrorism drama.

Does TV feel comfortable in that role? Has it defined its limits? Before one can deal with this matter, the media needs a consistent, working definition of terrorism. We don't really have one.

The Associated Press Stylebook, which has become a bible in the industry, doesn't have an entry for terrorism. Instead, it defers to the Webster's New World Dictionary (Second College Edition), which says: "the act of terrorizing; use of force or threats to demoralize, intimidate and subjugate, especially such use as a political weapon or policy." By this definition, a dictator could be employing "terrorism" on a routine basis to maintain his power, but the media doesn't usually use the word in that sense. It uses the word to define a single violent act, but it uses it selectively, depending upon who is the victim and who is the victimizer. And that is the problem.

A bombing in a country ruled by our definition of despot is more likely to be labelled a "coup attempt" or a "revolt" than an act of terrorism in the western press; same amount of blood, but a different word for what caused it.

When we do make these distinctions, our credibility in many parts of the world comes under question. We are accused of a double standard. It is a major source of irritation abroad, even among peoples and systems America regards as friendly.

We, and most other people around the world, do agree on gradations, however. We all pretty much agree on limits. There are some acts which appall just about everybody. Perhaps this is a good place to start in reaching a consistent definition of terrorism.

Let's take five different acts of violence, and see which ones we would call terrorism:

(1) A hostage-taking by gunmen who want to flee the country.

(2) A bombing during a prime minister's cabinet meeting.

(3) A bomb and bullet assault on the prime minister's motorcade during a crowded celebration; some civilians are killed.

(4) A bombing in a crowded marketplace in a country that is in a state of war; many civilians are killed.

(5) A bomb and bullet attack on civilians in a neutral country.

Now wait a minute. This isn't fair, you might say, because we haven't been told where these incidents have taken place. Another way of putting it is, we haven't been told who are the good guys and

who are the bad guys. That's the whole point. It shouldn't matter. Whereas one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter (the assailant), one man's dictator is another man's savior (the victim).

Incident No. 1 has happened in Russia and it has happened in America. Innocents were victimized in both cases.

The one incident in which perhaps all can agree is an act of terrorism, in the most pejorative and negative sense, is No. 5. The indiscriminate attack on civilians at the Rome Airport last December is just such an example. Even the most zealous radicals find little point in killing civilians in a neutral country. It gives the cause a uniformly black image.

All this is easy to say. But, how does one apply it?

One way is in the emphasis we give to acts of political violence. We cannot devote millions of words and pictures to the Achille Lauro and only a few hundred words to the killing of an Arab diplomat in Los Angeles in retaliation for that ship's hijacking. If we employ two standards, we have abrogated our role as observer, and accepted the role of player. Emotionally, it may be satisfying. Professionally, it is a disaster. Let us not forget that one of the greatest areas of difference between the independent and the controlled press is the separation of fact from opinion in the news columns. It is usual for Tass, for example, to report a domestic trial story by saying: "The criminal Ivanov stood trial..." In the American press, today, this would be anathema, as well as potentially libelous. We learned something from the Lindbergh and Sam Shepard cases. Let us not slip back in this incendiary Age of Terrorism.

Certainly part of the terrorist problem is public hysteria and frustration. The media should ask itself sincerely whether it has exacerbated or ameliorated public alarm. Is this a call for self-censorship?

No, it is a call for dispassionate, informative reporting, and a good place to start is in the words we use. Let's put some distance between what we say and what our sources say. Killer and assassin are descriptive words, and they apply everywhere. Terrorist and murderer are pejorative words, and for the media to either generate them or use them loosely is tantamount to taking sides. No matter how we personally feel, that just isn't our job.

British "Obsession with Secrecy"

By Ray Mosely
London Correspondent,
Chicago Tribune

LONDON—Amid rising public concern over terrorism, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher went before an American Bar Association convention here last July and proposed that news media adopt voluntary curbs to starve terrorists of "the oxygen of publicity."

ABA President William Falsgraf took up that suggestion and appointed two committees to pursue it with media representatives. The committees have now come up with their verdict: There should be no legislation, no voluntary guidelines and no action by the ABA in this field.

A spokeswoman said the committees concluded that media organizations already exercise their own editorial controls and that blanket guidelines would not work. Committee members who have been involved in terrorist situations, she said, also said the presence of the media sometimes helps to defuse volatile situations and to save lives.

The ABA may have resolved the issue to its satisfaction, but the debate is one of long standing and seems likely to go on. In Britain, the Thatcher view is consistent with government practice generally. As the London-based International Press Institute has noted, there is an "obsession with secrecy" here.

In its 1985 annual report, the IPI said media silence could drive terrorists to more spectacular acts of violence to try to gain publicity. It warned, however, against a tendency for the media to become

propagandists for terrorists and criticized in this respect the American Broadcasting Co.'s role in publicizing statements by terrorists who hijacked a Trans-World Airlines plane to Beirut last June.

Prof. Paul Wilkinson of Aberdeen University in Scotland, an internationally recognized expert on terrorism, maintains the media have done much to warn of the dangers, cruelty and savagery of terrorism.

"This cements the public's resolve to do something about it," he said. He contrasted the media's role in this respect with the refusal of European governments to agree to President Reagan's recent request for sanctions against Libya for its alleged sponsorship of terrorism. "Our political masters behaved like fat cats, unwilling to put protection of the innocent above commercial greed," he said. "The media are well ahead of them."

Wilkinson said there is a danger terrorists can "hijack the TV networks" and use them as a platform for their demands. But he said it would be "unrealistic" to hope for broad agreement on media guidelines and the answer to problems of covering terrorism has to come from dialogue within the media and police-media cooperation.

The media, rather than intelligence agencies, he said, are often the first to come up with vital information about terrorist groups, their aims and tactics. "Government should preserve the freedom of the media to do that," he said.

Katharine Graham, chairman of the board of the Washington Post Co., dis-



Thames TV

The British agent, Sidney Reilly, as portrayed by Sam Neill in a television series, actually attempted to overthrow Lenin.

cussed the issue in similar terms in the annual Churchill Lecture in London last December.

She offered these objections to a blackout on news of terrorist incidents: Rumor would abound, and that could worsen a crisis. There is no reason to think terrorism would cease if there were no news coverage. Citizens have a right to know what the government is doing.

Graham conceded the media risk giving unwarranted exposure to terrorist views and can go too far in interviewing families of hostages, thus fanning public sentiment that can limit government responses. The answer, she said, is not censorship or guidelines but rather the presence of experienced people at the helm in media organizations, exercising sound judgment on the basis of high professional standards.

Terrorism and Media Malpractice

By Eric Rozenman
Assistant Editor of
Near East Report

International terrorism has generated a cottage industry—one devoted to criticism of news coverage of terrorism. A former card-carrying member of The Newspaper Guild, I am also a charter member of this new business. During the last four years, at panel discussions and speeches, in articles and letters-to-the-editor, I have listened and read as the press and its critics talked past each other on this issue. The longer this con-

tinues, the more it erodes the indispensable bond of trust between the public and the media.

Coverage of international terrorism poses at least two problems for reporters and editors. One—how to report the news without serving, in the words of one syndicated columnist, as the terrorists' megaphone? The second—how to provide the essential context, often masked or denied by terrorists and their apologists, which would reveal much terrorism as low-intensity covert warfare between nations?

Modern terrorism began with violence against the ruling class by 19th century revolutionaries in czarist Russia. "Kill one, frighten 100" went the slogan. They called it "propaganda of the deed." From anarchist bomb-thrower to airline hijacker, the principle remains unchanged. But in the age of live satellite television transmission, the slogan now could be rendered, "Kidnap 100, mesmerize the planet."

Journalists who do not recognize this and make allowances for it in their coverage reinforce the symbiotic rela-

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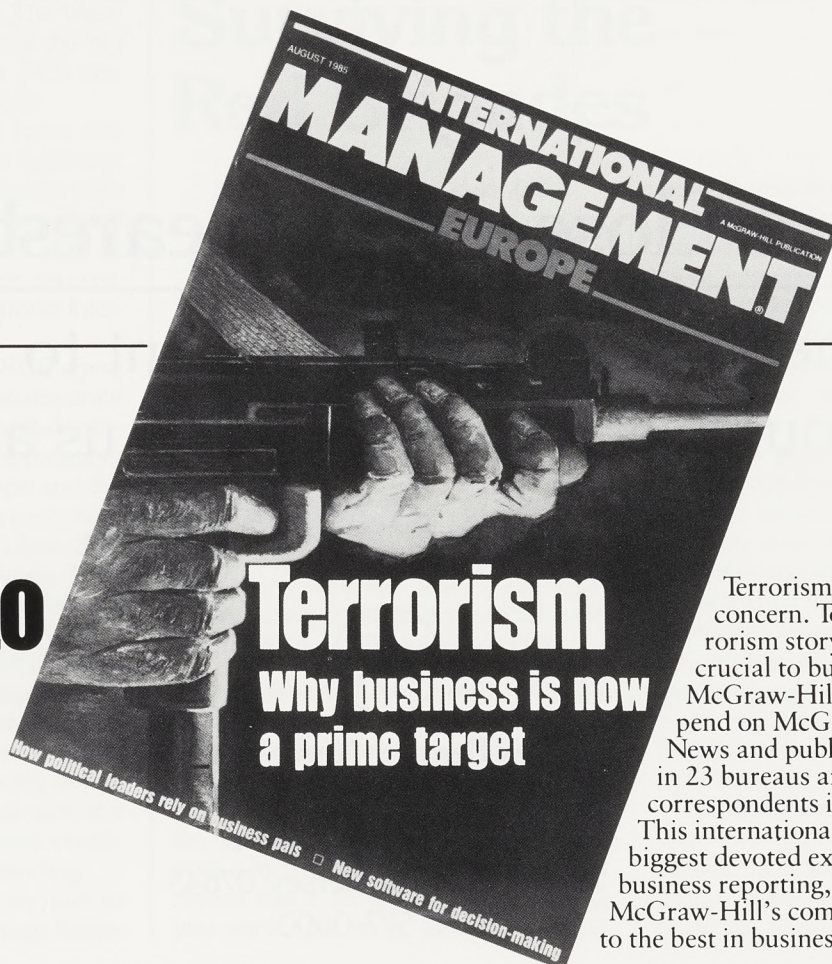
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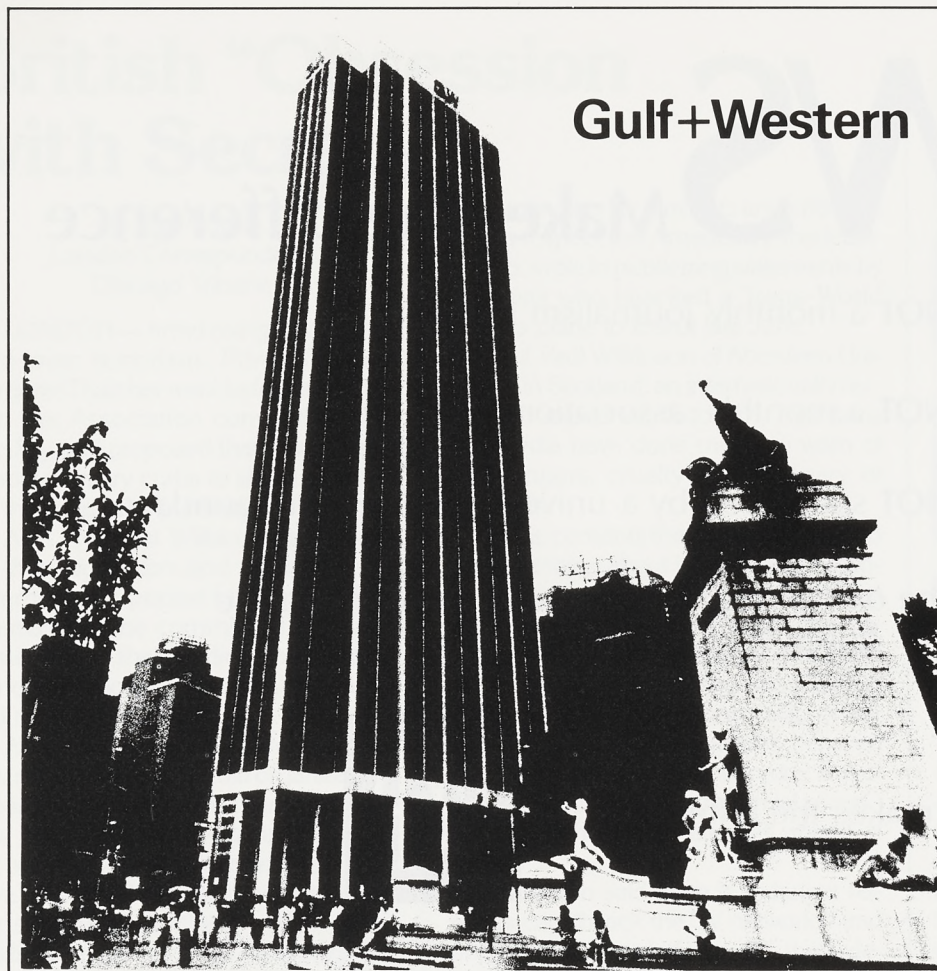
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tionship between many terrorists and the news media. Terrorism is, in part, the warfare of the weak or subversion on the cheap. Thus the attendant coverage—not the “success” or “failure” of the terrorist act itself—is the terrorists’ bottom line. But often media representatives retreat to talk of objectivity or neutrality—as if covering terrorism was akin to reporting on a candidates’ debate—and refuse to face the fact that terrorists use them as publicity agents. Competition for exclusives, for melodramatic footage, for ratings, cannot obscure the problem.

Then there is the problem of context. Taken as the random acts of people made desperate through allegedly legitimate grievances, terrorism possesses the power to wear down democracies even if it fails to win the conscious sympathy of the societies it victimizes or defeat their security forces in battle.

But few of the spectacular, widely-covered episodes of international terrorism are random, let alone “senseless.” For those seeking to change by violence specific policies of democratic states and to undermine these states and their allies, terrorism makes plenty of sense. Although the fanatical “foot soldiers”—the individuals who actually commandeer a plane or blow up a crowded department store—may seem to act at random, their “generals” most certainly are conducting war by proxy. The Western media fails when it misses the big picture by concentrating on each singular outrage as if it stood alone.

Thanks to revelations from the Baader-Meinhof cases in West Germany, the evidence from the Red Brigades trials in Italy, the crates of documents captured by the Israeli army from the PLO in Lebanon, and dozens of other sources, the general outlines of the terrorist international stand clear.

One need not suspect a KGB agent under every bed to realize that disparate goals—all fundamentally anti-democratic, anti-Western—lead terrorists in Latin America, Western Europe and the Middle East to cooperate with each other and sponsors in Syria, Iran, Libya, East Germany, Romania, North Korea, Cuba and above all, the Soviet Union. Without this network there would still be terrorism. But it would undoubtedly be much less common, less destructive, less newsworthy. In the demanding, perhaps dangerous job of penetrating the fog of disinformation and placing stories of terrorism within this essential context a free press can make its greatest contribution toward public understanding.

An illustration of how far we have to go: Prof. William Adams of George Wash-

ington University analyzed ABC-TV’s nightly news for the 16 days of the TWA Flight 847 hijacking last June. He found an average of 68% of each show devoted to the hijacking (a monomania benefiting the terrorists and inflating their apparent importance).

Of the disproportionate time given to this story—on four nights less than one and a-half minutes of a show purporting to cover world news mentioned anything else—37% went to the manipulated hostages (interviews selected and sometimes taped by the hijackers themselves); 15% to Shi’ite Amal spokesmen; 12% to U.S. government officials; 7% to non-government experts; 6% each to Israeli spokesmen and ex-U.S. officials and 4% to freed hostages (once free to speak their minds, ex-hostages apparently were no longer newsworthy).

One can only imagine what would have happened had the Achille Lauro pirates been from the pro-Syrian wing of the PLO instead of the pro-Arafat crowd. Berthed at Tartus instead of turned away, within range of mini-cams and satellite dishes, these terrorists too might have gained enough publicity for their demands—rather than their deeds—to merit media descriptions as “guerrillas” and “fighters” rather than terrorists and

criminals. Lack of favorable publicity—not of coverage—made much of the difference in both perception and outcome of these two cases.

John O’Sullivan of London’s *Daily Telegraph* put it well at a 1984 conference on terrorism. “A terrorist is a criminal who seeks publicity...The terrorists themselves so arrange their affairs as to make life relatively easy for the media. They arrange press conferences, publish communiques and statements of ultimate aims, and give exclusive interviews. In Northern Ireland, indeed, the so-called Republican Movement is divided into a terrorist wing which murders people, and a political wing, Sinn Fein, which is available to the media to explain why these murders were regrettable necessities.”

The answer? Focus, like the “mass press,” on what the terrorists do. And focus on who helps them—cover not just the puppets but the puppet-masters. Do not intellectualize what the terrorists say, like the “quality press” often does. Such rationalization can provide a justification of terrorist deeds themselves. As with all subjects of news coverage, the terrorists’ actions should be allowed to speak louder than their words.

Surviving the Red Brigades

By Maj. Gen. James Dozier (ret.)

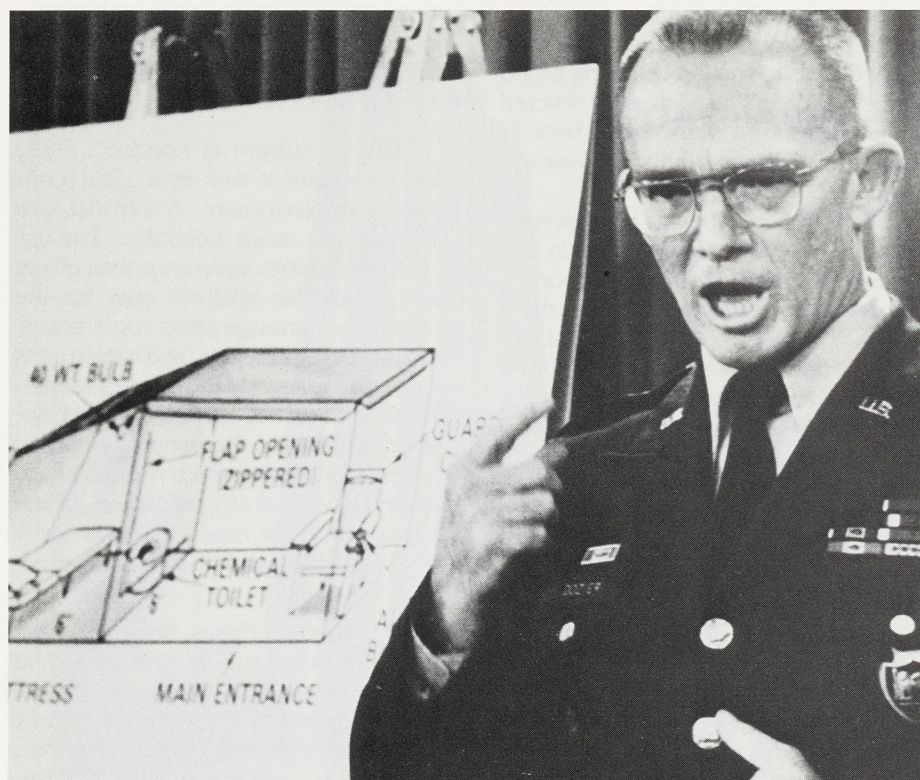
On December 17, 1981 Brigadier General James Dozier was kidnapped from his Verona apartment by members of the Italian Red Brigades. Chained to a metal cot, Dozier spent forty-two days in captivity until his dramatic rescue by a specially trained Italian anti-terrorist commando team. Dozier was the highest ranking U.S. Army officer at LANDSOUTH, part of the NATO’s southern command. Dozier retired last August and now lives in Florida. He and his wife, Judy, routinely conduct seminars for U.S. personnel destined for overseas posts.

If Judy and I had known what we know now, would I have become a hostage of the Red Brigades in 1981? Possibly not. There is a lot that can be done to understand the environment, including the terrorist threat, in a new overseas post. On the other hand, we are convinced that if an organization targeting you wants you badly, they will commit

enough resources to get the job done properly. A kidnapping, in contrast to a bombing or other attacks, is by nature a more intensive operation and requires more detailed preparation and planning. Once it is in motion, it is hard to stop. When we look back, with 20-20 hindsight, we see many things that we would have done differently had we thought of ourselves as desirable targets. Our principal error was simply not taking the Red Brigades threat to Americans seriously enough. As a result, we made ourselves an easy target.

We lived in a lovely apartment in downtown Verona. We were charmed by the city and the country. It was our third tour in Europe and we were thoroughly enjoying ourselves. After eighteen months we had adjusted to the new lifestyle and had settled into a set routine.

I jogged every morning at the same time. I was picked up by a driver, a Carabinieri sergeant, each morning shortly before eight and returned each afternoon just after five. Evenings were spent



Associated Press

General Dozier tells of his 42 days held hostage at a Pentagon press conference.

with friends or at home with the doors and windows open so we could enjoy the wonderful view of the city. Judy and I freely roamed around Verona. During opera season, we often would walk home from a performance at two in the morning. We were both visible and predictable.

We paid little or no attention to news reports of Red Brigade activities. However, we were not totally naive. We were no strangers to unrest directed against Americans in Europe. While in Germany on a previous tour, the Red Army Faction and the Baader Meinhoff organizations had targeted U.S. installations and businesses for bombings. The installation I commanded was a possible target. As a result, we took precautions. In Italy, I received intelligence reports which included terrorist threat assessments. They were similar to the previous alerts that had never materialized. In addition, there was never any indication of a direct threat against me.

We took basic precautions, as we had in Germany years before. But, even after two attacks in Germany, one against General and Mrs. Kroesen, I did not feel I was personally in jeopardy. The Red Brigades had threatened to attack the Americans for several years, but had not followed through with any violence directed at Americans.

That was the environment in which we lived that enabled the Red Brigades to

spend six weeks, prior to the kidnapping, observing us. We later learned that they watched us with binoculars from a parking lot across the river from our apartment. It was easy to see in through the large sliding glass doors. Our curtains and blinds were seldom drawn. Then they began to mingle with the bus-stop crowds in front of our building. They went through our garbage which they found in the outside dumpster. Finally, they entered the apartment posing as pollsters, salespeople and utility workers.

By the time they were ready to execute the kidnapping, they were completely aware of our daily activities, both inside and outside of our building. They knew and understood the environment in which they would have to operate. We just didn't conceive of something like this happening to us.

After I was kidnapped, circumstances drove our actions. During the initial fight with the terrorists, who had disguised themselves as plumbers, Judy sensed that they did not really want to hurt her or kill me, at that time. She found the strength and insight to make quick, rational decisions. After she was freed from the bathroom pipes to which she was chained, Judy assisted the authorities. The support that flowed from the American and Italian communities was of critical importance to Judy and our children. Those support systems are now institutionalized.

In my case, once it became clear that I was being kidnapped and not killed, I too was given the strength and insight to handle the situation sensibly. I opted not to use up all my strength in the initial fight, so that I could begin my captivity in the best possible physical shape. It made no sense to defy my captors once I was completely under their control.

I made a vow to myself at the beginning, that I would not do or say anything that would embarrass the Army, NATO, or either the American or Italian governments. With that as the basis for my conduct, I concentrated on doing things which enhanced my physical and mental well-being, and enabled me to establish a dialogue with my captors.

As soon as I was chained to a cot, inside a tent, erected in the hideout in Padua, I asked my captors about Judy. Initially, I was told I was their prisoner and was not to speak unless I was responding to a question. However, my questions about Judy helped to establish a dialogue which continued throughout my captivity. As a result, some of my captors began to look at me as a person, and not simply a prisoner. I continuously insisted that they communicate with the authorities. I made a conscious effort to maintain a disciplined, military bearing.

I established a daily exercise and activity routine that was known to my jailers. Knowing my schedule made them less jumpy. I asked for and received playing cards, magazines and novels. I used these to help maintain my mental acuity.

My efforts began to pay off. Occasionally my guards would bring me newspaper clippings and pictures to show me that Judy was alright. My attempt to have my guards look at me as a person had a positive effect with at least one of them. During my rescue, the most junior member was on guard duty and could have killed me, but did not. He later told the court that he could not bring himself to shoot me.

I had no previous training in how to conduct myself in a hostage situation. I simply played it by ear, kept myself reasonably fit and did things that made sense. Things that calmed the situation down instead of heating it up.

Back to the original question. Could my kidnapping have been prevented? We will never know for sure. We certainly would never open our door to unknown or unexpected plumbers.

We do know, however, that if Americans overseas in high risk areas understand their environment and know the nature of the threat, they can minimize both the possibility and the probability of terrorist attacks.

ISTANBUL—Terrorism today comes close to being covered by the media more extensively and in greater graphic detail than perhaps any other subject of public interest. But the deep-rooted causes of terrorism are inadequately explored and terrorism itself is seldom if ever satisfactorily defined.

Terrorism, as a fact of life, for many is the ultimate way of obtaining justice, of fighting what the terrorist perceives, and often no one else, as injustice beyond remedy through peaceful political method.

Sometimes terrorism is simply an instrument with which to grab for sudden power. Terrorism on a certain local level can be an all-out war of a faction, just as self-justifiable as an officially declared state of war between nations. The common aim, in any case, is the destruction of an enemy, his institutions and traditions, devastation guided by the hand of hatred. Terrorism can be an ultimatum served to those who have failed to satisfy, by moral or physical effort, the grievances of the afflicted.

Who exactly is a terrorist and where is terrorism found? Is the terrorist only a youth with a machine gun or a petrol bomb in a street of Beirut or Belfast, in a Peruvian village or the airport at Rome? Is the terrorist an idealist or is he a soldier-on-call for hire? On a New York street corner the terrorist of this evening's headlines is a pathological killer on the loose or, more cold-bloodedly, a Mafioso hit man. A terrorist is not particularly identifiable by his nationality, creed, color or even his politics. What commonly identifies the "martyr" and the simple hired gun is their ability to change the

Why Terrorism?

By Charles E. Adelsen
Foreign Correspondent

fate of men and nations in a single violent moment.

History remembers that out of the French Reign of Terror, France ultimately emerged as an exemplary democracy. What were the terrorists of British newspaper headlines of two hundred or fifty years ago reporting on events in America or in the Middle East, are today called the fathers of their countries.

The media has the power to dissuade, to destabilize even, the forces of destructive terrorism, but often seems more disposed to magnifying in stature, of glorifying in the eyes of their followers, those who tear apart the fabric of society, in the worst cases of journalistic irresponsibility, evidently for the sake of upswings in circulation figures and prime viewing time ratings. In this most dismal of all scenarios, the media helps in canonizing the sort of terrorist who, otherwise, would remain an obscure nihilist.

Vivid in this correspondent's memory, is a moment on a peaceful Sunday in Istanbul, when Turkey was going through the trauma, before 1980, of fratricidal terrorism that was visibly destroying the republic of the Turks. During what seemed like a brief truce between warring political factions, together with my American photojournalist colleague, who had just bought a new motor drive for one of his cameras, we dared to take

an intercontinental ferryboat ride, to shoot pictures and test the new motor drive.

At the Sirkeci ferry landing, not far from the old Orient Express station, we joined hundreds of weekend-trippers waiting to embark for the short sail across the Bosphorus to Harem on the Asian shore. Prudently we chose to stay in back of the crowd. Seconds before the gate to the ferry ramp was due to open, a powerful bomb hidden in a basket went off, sending panicking men and women, like ripples caused by a stone tossed into water, fleeing from the explosion. Those standing closest to the blast were splattered with fragments of human flesh, what had been the legs of a hapless Anatolian youth, an instant before about to buy his ticket and without a political thought in his head. Amidst the chaos, an innocent human being lay terribly alone, in shock and bleeding to death surrounded by a crowd petrified by total fear.

What a setting for a front-page shot. Yet my photographer colleague's first impulse was to tourniquet the boy's wounds with his belt. But we were prevented from approaching the victim. Even so, our press cards would have let us take pictures.

It was not possible to help. But neither, we felt, was it morally permissible to merchandise the image of a human life destroyed by terror. Freedom of the media is a right that permits us to express our individual attitudes, and incidentally to make a profit. But this should not allow the exploitation of terrorism to become the acceptable habit of an unfettered press.

Terrorism Coverage Requires Better Media Judgment

By Charles J. Dunsire
Editorial Page Editor,
Seattle Post-Intelligencer

SEATTLE—Like many Americans, I spent an unusual amount of time watching television news last June as events following the terrorist hijacking of TWA Flight 847 unfolded.

Most of my attention was claimed by Cable News Network, whose around-the-clock format provided the most comprehensive live coverage. That included the controversial and somewhat bizarre news conference featuring the hostages, who answered questions while

clutching floral bouquets from their captors. It reached my Seattle living room on a Sunday morning.

As an editorial writer, I was grateful, as well as fascinated, for the opportunity to witness first-hand the final episode of the hijacking drama which wouldn't be recorded in most U.S. newspapers, including my own, until the following Monday morning. It better prepared me to write commentary on the event the next day.

At the time, it didn't particularly occur to me, much less bother me, that the presence of live television cameras in that Beirut suburb may have helped

shape the character of the hostage press conference, if not create it. Television long has had a potent influence on much of what is broadly classified as news, at least since the Army-McCarthy hearings of the early 1950s. Would Sen. Joseph McCarthy have behaved quite as he did, and would he and his reckless anti-communist crusade have generated the same magnitude of public debate, if television had not yet arrived to make Americans collective eyewitnesses? I doubt it. Like it or not—and as a print journalist there have been many times I have not—television has changed the news busi-

ness and in some respects it has changed the news, as it has so many other aspects of our lives.

Since last summer, the issue of whether television news should exercise more restraint in coverage of terrorist activities, particularly when hostages are involved, and whether government should impose some restraints, have been subjects of recurring discussion. My answers to those questions, in order, are probably, and no.

On the latter question, I can only agree with Rep. Edward F. Feighan, D-Ohio, who was chairman of congressional hearings last year on terrorism and the media. His conclusion: "The solution to this problem is certainly not government-imposed restraint. Any government intervention that flirts with violations of the First Amendment will not prevent media excesses in the future. The media themselves must be their own first line of defense by accepting fair criticism and exercising good judgment."

Given the competitive nature of newsgathering, electronic or print, the reed of hope that television always will exercise good judgment and restraint is a slender one indeed. A case in point is the television networks' behavior in national elections, a subject of especially keen interest on the Pacific Coast.

Early television-news projections of a Ronald Reagan victory over Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, before the polls had closed in the Far West, still are blamed for relatively low voter turnout in Washington, Oregon and California, particularly among Democratic voters. In response to protests, the networks promised to do better in the 1982 off-year congressional and gubernatorial elections and they did, but not much. NBC News, for example, didn't make projections of results but it did make what it euphemistically described as "estimates" of the outcomes of certain contests. In last year's presidential election the overwhelming Reagan victory made the early-projection issue almost academic, but it has not gone away.

Congress toyed with the idea of imposing some election-reporting restraints on the networks but, wisely, abandoned that in favor of voluntary restraints, not unlike those urged for coverage of terrorist incidents.

In the case of elections, however, there are means of guaranteeing that television doesn't pollute the electoral process and alter the natural course of events, without infringing on the First Amendment. One proposed method is a



A Shiite Moslem leaning from the cockpit of the hijacked TWA flight 847 as seen on an ABC News broadcast.

bill before Congress which would cause all voting throughout the nation to be conducted simultaneously in presidential elections, so that polls on the East Coast would not close before those on the West Coast. That would eliminate election-night projection problems in the West.

No such end-around remedy exists, of course, in regard to coverage of ter-

rorism. On that we must rely on television news' good judgment and hope for the best. That's not perfect, but some imperfection in the collection and reporting of sensitive news events is a modest price to pay for an open society whose freedom to know what is happening in the world greatly transcends occasional—albeit regrettable—lapses of sound and responsible news judgment.

Self-Restraint is Not Censorship

By Arch Puddington
Program Advisor,
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Although Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty serve a somewhat different function than the normal media, the Radios' experience is relevant to the debate over press coverage of terrorism. At the heart of this debate is the question of whether demands that the press exercise self-restraint in its coverage of on-going terrorist crises inevitably amounts to a form of censorship. While this issue must be confronted only infrequently by the general press, it is a question which RFE and RL must address on a daily basis.

The countries to which we broadcast—the Soviet Union and the communist nations of Eastern Europe—suffer an inherent political instability due to the imposition of an alien and totalitarian

political system and the routine violation of internationally accepted standards of human rights.

Communist regimes regard information as power, and they jealously guard their monopoly over the dissemination of news. The censorship system is pervasive and efficient, and is constantly refined to meet the challenges posed by opposition forces and the development of new information technologies.

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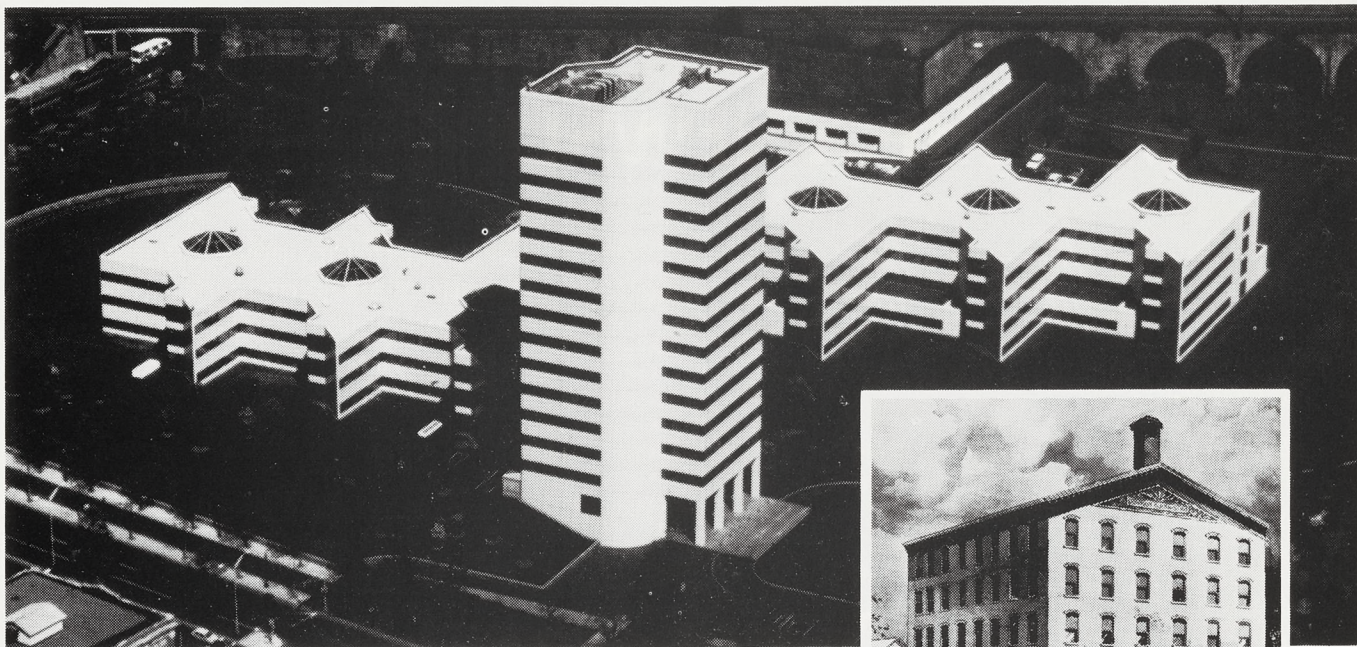
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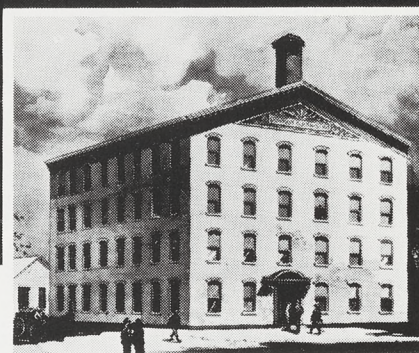
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as the principal sources of reliable information, whether it concerns international affairs, culture, political developments, even natural catastrophes within their own country. While this presents the Radios with a remarkable opportunity as a broadcast service, it also imposes its own special burden.

To begin with, our audience is located in societies where the governments routinely lie to the people. Yet in providing an alternative to the official lie, great care must be paid to accuracy and balance. This is of course normal procedure for any good journalist. In our work, however, determining what is accurate about a news development in closed societies like the Soviet Union or Bulgaria is a task fraught with complexity.

Moreover, because communist regimes present a consistently distorted picture of western life, the Radios face the challenge of placing the news in a perspective that has meaning for the listener in Prague or Kiev.

In the specific case of terrorism, it is not enough to report the number of casualties or how many of the killed or wounded were American citizens. For our audience, the importance of terrorism lies in its effect on America and other western nations and how democratic governments are attempting to cope with the phenomenon.

The Radios are also sensitive to their obligation towards the dissidents and opposition forces in the countries to which we broadcast. More than one advocate of democracy has been persecuted on fabricated charges of having "collaborated" with Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty. We take great pains to ensure that our reportage does not inadvertently provide "evidence" for some tawdry political trial.

We emphatically do not perceive such precaution as a form of censorship, but as prudent and responsible. If Lech Walesa or other Solidarity leaders have something important to say, we report it, as news. But we do not engage in idle

speculation over what Walesa may or may not be thinking or intends to do.

There is no reason for newspapers, magazines, television networks, or other media to adhere as a general rule to the special standards which guide the work of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (although one can easily think of numerous times when more self-discipline was warranted).

But on those relatively rare occasions when lives are on the line, a different policy should instruct the media, one that recognizes that the media can affect the future of terrorism now and in the future. In this regard, a specific recommendation might be a written set of guidelines governing the coverage of terrorism, to which the press and broadcast media would subscribe on a voluntary basis. The every-day coverage of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is governed by a similar code, with positive results over the years.

News of Terrorism Must Not Be Suppressed

By Peter Prichard
Associate Editorial Director
of USA Today

Mr. Prichard is Chairman,
Freedom of Information
Committee Society of Professional
Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi

WASHINGTON—When TWA flight 847 was hijacked last year, the USA's television networks quickly fed the news to a watching world.

Overnight, the face of Nabih Berri, the Shiite leader, became almost as familiar to Americans as Dan Rather or Peter Jennings. And Alyn Conwell, the handsome Texan who was the first spokesman for the hostages, was on television more often than Tom Brokaw—who happened to be on vacation when the story broke.

The chief demand of the Shiites—that their comrades be released from Israeli jails—was reported over and over on television, radio and in the newspapers.

And when the ordeal finally ended, and the surviving hostages were safe, there was criticism of the way the media handled that hijacking—and terrorism in general.

Those critics said:

—The media should not have provided a terrorist with a platform to voice their

demands. One television interviewer was criticized for asking Nabih Berri if he had any parting words of advice for President Reagan.

—The media should not have run live interviews with the hostages, while they were under pressure from their captors to parrot a list of demands. These live interviews were a propaganda triumph for the terrorists.

—By giving terrorists air time and space in newspapers to proclaim their cause, the media encourage more terrorist acts.

—By airing endless interviews with the beleaguered families of the hostages, the media exploit families who are trying to survive an emotional crisis.

All of these problems will be solved, some critics say, if the media just stopped reporting the news. Their argument goes this way: The media should act responsibly and impose a voluntary blackout on all newspaper and broadcast coverage during terrorist incidents. This will give government time to defuse the crisis, they say.

Clearly, covering terrorism is a difficult challenge for journalists. But news blackouts are not the answer. Neither is censorship.

The Society of Professional Journalists, which has 25,000 members and is one of the nation's oldest and largest

journalism organizations, grappled with this challenge at its convention in Phoenix last November.

After discussing the issues, leaders of the society developed a resolution which the membership approved at that convention. That resolution states:

"Whereas the June hijacking of a TWA jetliner to Beirut and a growing number of terrorist activities required news coverage of terrorists seeking world attention, and

"Whereas coverage of terrorist activities carries the risk of involving news organizations as participants in events, which goes beyond the journalist's traditional role of objective observer, and

"Whereas some news organizations have been accused of paying hijacking witnesses or their families for personal accounts of events and reunions, and

"Whereas government officials in the United States and Great Britain have urged journalists to restrain their coverage or adopt guidelines for covering such events,

"Therefore, be it resolved that the 76th annual convention of the Society urges that journalists cover terrorist activities with utmost professionalism and restraint—consistent with the people's right to know—and that journalists adhere to the highest ethical standards of accuracy, fairness, balance and objectivity.

"Be it further resolved that chapters hold meetings to discuss terrorist coverage, and ways in which journalists

can avoid being manipulated, while at the same time providing coverage of important news events."

When the options are suppressing the news or reporting it, in a free society there is really no choice. The public deserves to know what is happening.

Besides being unconstitutional, suppressing the news would make things

worse. People would wonder what else they were not being told. Rumors would run wild. Opportunities to abuse power would be plentiful.

By using care and restraint, journalists have proven that they can cover terrorism and inform the public, without endangering rescue operations—or the lives of the hostages.

Terrorists as Upstarts, A Generation Gap

By George Weller
Foreign Correspondent and Author

ROME—To animate a TV public steeped in beery resentment, the hasty, confused media have been fumbling for an apolitical doxology (and a racist cussword) to slander Arab guerrillas with a suitable mixture of caution and contempt. "Terrorists" no longer seems quite the right brushoff. But one must be wary of promoting into martyrdom these reckless, feckless ragheads.

To single them out by the names of their leaders is not easy, because they refuse to be discovered, or taunted, even by each other. When Ben Hecht was always available in New York or Hollywood, one knew where to get a fill-in on the Irgun Zvai Leumi, because he was shilling for them. Every British death, he said, brought happiness to his heart. Today it is less easy to pin down factions known only by combinations of letters like ORMS, (for "revolutionary organization of Moslem socialists"). The media, to escape the obviously twisted "terrorists" does not dare go over into "Palestine nationalists," because Golda Meir's handbook decreed Palestinians "do not exist."

The Israelis have paid today's unclassifiables the compliment—lost on the public, alas—of calling them by the same name Israel's leaders were known when they set up in business: "terrorists." Today, Peres, Begin and Shamir, ex-outsiders, now snugly inside, have vetoed any American recognition of Arafat, permitting Reagan—as they wish—to evade any peace initiative whatever. Jews and Arabs know their terrain.

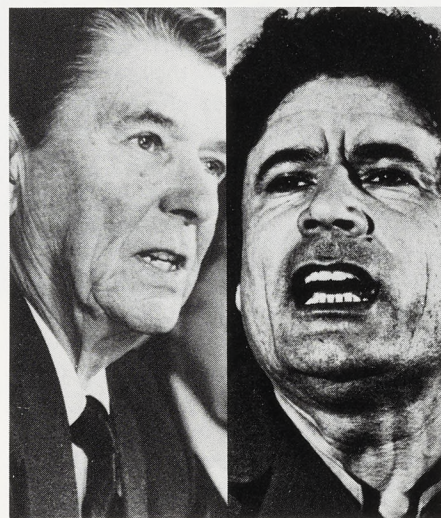
It is hard to imagine any of the three marginal PLO "abus" who trouble Arafat with their lawless interceptions by land and air, going to the length that Begin did to keep his American public alive to the "terrorist" option he and Shamir were brandishing.

Begin blew up an entire wing of the King David hotel, killing 90 people, mostly British.

By contrast, when one Palestinian faction was holding a 747-full of TWA passengers on Beirut's tarmac, they managed to show them a film of the war's most senseless moment: when the U.S.S. *New Jersey*, instead of lowering its colors in respect to shattered Beirut in farewell, slammed 300 one-ton shells blindly into mountain villages. The passengers were not soothed when one of the partisans explained that he had joined the terrorists because his family was wiped out in the aimless shelling.

With the advent of the burly, horse-raising Cincinnati General Ariel Sharon, half-soldier, half-terrorist, there appeared a mid-generation leader with tank experience, not like the armor-starved Arafat.

Doctor George Habbash, the PLO's American-educated physician from the refugee camps, has his difference with Abu Nidal of Jaffa. Nidal's force carried out the raids against the Rome and Vienna airports. In Rome the 16 dead were



President Reagan (left) and Col. Muammar el-Quaddafi, the Libyan leader.

about equally divided between two PLO grenades and the lethal fire of four Israeli guards firing into a crowded bar.

Habbash was the pioneer in the kidnapping of Israeli planes, but has given that up. The European press listens to his ideas with the same respect the Americans gave Begin and Shamir.

He told Italy's sober *Corriere della Sera*, "I don't believe in our messing around in foreign countries, any more than I believe in our fiddling with hopes that Hussein can bring us peace. Palestine is our country, not Israel's and that's what we should go for. Haven't the Israeli terrorists taught us that we must go for the real targets, as they did?"

Abu Nidal can argue, contrariwise, that in hitting Vienna and Rome he is messing up the new plan proposed by the Canadian liquor tycoon Edgar Bronfman for bringing more Jewish fighting power into Israel out of Russia—if the Soviet Jews cooperate. Instead of the Jews getting passes for Israel, and then proceeding instead to the U.S. via Rome, the new plan, apparently is to halt the fake transit through Vienna (now almost dried up) and force the Soviet Jews to be shipped to Warsaw, (still under Communist rifles), and directly from there to Israel. (Cries of "Eichmann's methods" are heard.)

Abu Nidal, dwelling in Bagdad—where Iraq was longing for any distraction that would turn her wasteful campaign in Iran against Israel—decided that Sharon's war must not be put off. The Israelis had to be given a pretext for making war "against terrorism," a slogan as irresistible in America as "against Communism," Israel's mainstay. Nidal had a hit team in London, headed by a regular colonel of the Iraqi army. There is no pretext like shooting an Israeli ambassador. So they shot him, and did not give away, at first, who they were—except that they were Palestinians. An attack, it must be, by the cowardly Arafat, the man at the top, the universal Satan.

So Arafat found himself at war, under-armed, with a huge Arab population to protect, and the factional militias of Lebanon, (as eager to get rid of him as if he were Jewish,) sitting on their hands. Arafat was not destroyed, as Nidal probably hoped. But he backed into the shattered walls of Beirut and defied Sharon to send his men into house-to-house fighting.

Then Nidal—credited by nobody—won the war: the Israelis and the Palestinians agreed to leave, and did, followed by the angry, defiled Americans, who lost half as many marines as had either Israelis or Palestinians.

85 Journalists are Victims in 18 Countries

By Norman A. Schorr
Co-Chairman, OPC Freedom
of the Press Committee

The assault on the truth continues around the world, and professionals who report the news fairly and responsibly are too often harassed, victimized, even tortured.

Reporters, editors, photographers and publishers are threatened, accused, arrested, held without charges, tortured, sentenced, imprisoned, kidnapped and, in many cases, just "disappear."

In the last 10 years, 265 journalists have been killed for doing their job, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists. Argentina has the worst record, with 93 journalists killed; Guatemala 47; El Salvador 21 and the Philippines 19.

The attack on press freedom occurs in many forms. The Inter American Press Association reports that there is no press freedom in Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, Chile, Guyana, Surinam and Paraguay.

Licensing of journalists is compulsory in 12 countries in this hemisphere.

After the military in Panama threatened the independent daily, *La Prensa*, it was suspended in December, 1985, and with no supporting evidence, the editor was charged with relaying censored copy to diplomats and foreign correspondents.

South Africa established new harsh restrictions that amount to a virtual news blackout on unrest in that country.

In Liberia, two newspapers were shut down, two journalists were held in a Monrovia military stockade, and the correspondent for BBC was arrested. At the state-run radio and TV stations, newsmen were forced to follow the official line.

In South Korea, three journalists with *Dong-A Ilbo*, a large daily, were beaten and interrogated about a story, then released.

In Turkey, there is "civilized censorship." In Chile, reporter Elizabeth Subercaseux was badly beaten for her political analyses; journalist Carlos Tobar was kicked and choked by thugs while covering a student demonstration; Father Renato Hevia was jailed for two weeks when charged with insulting General Pinochet in the Jesuit publication *Mensaje*.

In Italy, crime reporter Giancarlo Siani was gunned down, apparently for his reports on organized crime. In Malaysia, charges were brought against a reporter for the *New Straits Times* for a report on government plans to purchase U.S. planes. In Greece, Michael Namri, editor of the Athens-based weekly *Annashra*, was shot and killed as he entered his office.

With suppression of the news a standard practice in offending countries, it is difficult to compile a complete list of all assaults on the press and of all journalists in jail. Yet, the extent of the problem is suggested by this list of 85 journalists in 18 countries who, as of late February 1986, were either imprisoned, under house arrest, held hostage or said to have disappeared. Regrettably, 41 were on a similar list last year; the rest are new names.

Vietnam heads the list with 27 prisoners, the Soviet Union is next with 10, the People's Republic of China has 9, Turkey 8, Taiwan 6 and Libya 4. Of course, there may have been additions since the list was compiled in February, and some may have been released. Following is the list, prepared principally by The Committee to Protect Journalists, with assists from Amnesty International and the Inter American Press Association:

CUBA

Fernando Rivas Porta—Worked for now government-run magazine *Bohemia*, imprisoned for more than 20 years.

Luis Rodriguez Rodriguez—Worked for the now defunct newspaper *El Pais*, imprisoned for more than 20 years.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Frantisek Starek—Worked with underground magazine *Vonko*, arrested for causing a "public disturbance" and sentenced June 1982 to two-and-a-half years' imprisonment and two years' house arrest.

ETHIOPIA

Martha Kumsa—Worked for Oromo-language journal *Barissa*, detained Feb. 1980.

ISRAEL

Mohammed Amireh—Nablus correspondent for *Al-Quds* newspaper, arrested Oct. 1985, held without charge or trial.

Kamel Jbail—A correspondent for the daily *Al Mithaq* in Ramallah, arrested September 1985. Detained without charge.

Qaddoura Mousa—A correspondent for the daily *Al-Fajr* in Jenin, arrested August 1985. Detained without charge or trial.

KENYA

Otieno Mak'Onyango—Former assistant editor *The Sunday Standard* of Nairobi, detained since August 1982 on charges of treason following an unsuccessful coup attempt. Kenyan journalists believe it is a case of mistaken identity.

LEBANON

Terry A. Anderson—Chief Middle East correspondent of *The Associated Press*, kidnapped March 1985 in West Beirut.

Alec Collett—A British journalist on assignment for a United Nations Agency, abducted March 1985 in a Beirut suburb.

Jean Paul Kauffman—A French journalist on assignment for *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, kidnapped in May 1985.

LIBYA

These 4, among 18 Libyan journalists sentenced to death in 1980 for "illegal activities," are still believed to be held.

Muhammad al Fitouri

Kahlifa Sifaw Khaboush—Editorial board member of *al-Ushbu' al-Assiyasi*.

Ali Muhammad Hadidan al-Rheibi—Reporter for *al-Ushbu' al-Thaqafiy*.

Idris Muhammad Ibn Tayeb—Reporter and editor.

MALAWI

Paul Akomenji—An editor with the Malawi News Agency, arrested March 1985, held without charge or trial.

Jonathan Kuntambila—Chief editor of the *Daily Times*. Arrested March 1985, held without charge or trial.

Sandy Kuwale—Senior editor of the Malawi News Agency. Arrested March 1985, held without charge or trial.

MOROCCO

Abd As-Salim—Writer and publisher sentenced in September 1984 to two years' imprisonment, following publication of article suggesting the monarchy be abolished.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dai Zhen—An official from Canton, sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment in December 1982, believed arrested for expressing views critical of government policies.

Fu Sheng—Factory worker, editor of two unofficial journals, arrested in Beijing in April 1981. Believed sentenced to prison.

He Qiu—Editor of unofficial publication. Tried for "counter-revolutionary crimes." Sentenced May 1982 to 10 years in jail.

Li Guangyi—Editor of *China Finance and Trade News*, sentenced to 5 years in March 1982 for revealing secrets to foreign reporters.

Liu Qing—Co-editor of banned magazine, arrested November 1979 in Beijing for selling transcript of the trial of Wei Jingsheng. Sentenced to seven years.

Wang Xizhe—Editor of unofficial publication. "crimes." Sentenced in May 1982 to 14 years.

Wei Jingsheng—Editor and publisher of *Tansuo*, arrested in March 1979 for "counter-revolutionary activities." Sentenced November 1979 to 15 years' imprisonment and three years' deprivation of political rights.

Xu Wenli—Editor of a banned journal, arrested in Beijing in April 1981 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Zhu Jianbin—Arrested April 1981, apparently for efforts to form the National Association of Democratic Journals, never publically charged or tried.

POLAND

Czeslaw Bielecki—Director of CDN Publishing House, arrested April 1985, reportedly on hunger strike since October.

Bogdan Bujak—Editor of *Solidarity* paper, sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

SINGAPORE

Chia Thye Poh—Editor of *Chem Sien Pau*, an opposition party newspaper. Detained without trial since October 1966.

SOUTH AFRICA

Derek Jackson and Humphrey Joseph—Both with a community newspaper, *Saamstaan*. Arrested September 1985 and held incommunicado for at least three months. Charged with subversion.

SOVIET UNION

Boris Chernykh—Worked with various official publications, arrested in 1982, sentenced in 1983 to five years' imprisonment on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for his participation in the "Vampilov Book Fellowship," which reportedly reviewed books published both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

Sergei Grigoryants—Arrested February 1983 for editing *Bulletin V*, sentenced in October to seven years' labor camp and three years' internal exile.

Gintautas Iesamantas—Author of samizdat articles, arrested March 1980 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile.

Zoya A. Krakhmalnikova—Editor of an underground Christian journal, arrested August 1982, sentenced April 1983 to one year corrective labor, five years' internal exile.

Vladas Lapienis—79, arrested January 1985, sentenced March 1985 to four years' labor camp, two years' internal exile on charges connected with a manuscript he wrote about previous prison experience.

Valery Timofeyevich Repin—With *Leningrad Worker*, sentenced August 1980 to two years' imprisonment and three years' internal exile.

Vitaly Schevchenko—Arrested April 1980, charged with circulating samizdat articles and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and six years' internal exile.

Yuri Shikhanovich—Arrested for involvement with unofficial human rights journals *A Chronicle of Current Events* and *Bulletin V*, sentenced Sept. 1984 to five years' labor camp, five years' internal exile.

Alexei Smirnov—Arrested in 1982 for editing *A Chronicle of Current Events* sentenced to six years' labor camp and four years' internal exile.

Lev Timofeyev—Worked for various official publications, but in late 1970s, began contributing to Russian emigre press. Arrested March 1985, sentenced in closed court Sept. 1985 to six years' labor camp, five years' internal exile in connection with publication of critical articles abroad.

SYRIA

Marwan Hamawi—Director of Syrian news agency SANA, arrested April 1975 on suspicion of collaborating with Iraqi wing of the Ba'ath party. Has not been charged or tried, said to be held in military prison.

TAIWAN

Chang Hua-min—Wrote open letter to authorities arguing for talks with People's Republic of China, arrested September 1980 on suspicion of sedition. Charged January 1980 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

Huang Hua—Former deputy managing editor of *The Taiwan Political Review*, arrested July 1976 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for seditious articles.

Chang Chun-hung, Huang Hsin-chieh, Shih Ming-teh, Yao Chia-men—Executive staff members of *Formosa* magazine, arrested after Kaohsiung human rights rally in December 1979. Sentenced to terms

ranging from 12 years' to life.

TURKEY

Husnu Aktas—Detained Nov. 1984 for writing *Civilized Savagery*, not yet tried.

Huseyin Bas—A member of the Turkish Peace Association, sentenced Nov. 1983 to 8 years' imprisonment and 32 months' internal exile for "propaganda aimed at achieving the hegemony of one class over another."

Metin Culhaoglu—Editor of *Sosyalist Iktidar* (Socialist Power), sentenced in Nov. 1981 to 7 years' imprisonment for "writing propaganda against the state."

Feyzullah Ozar—Editor of political magazine *Kitle*, arrested Oct. 1981 and sentenced March 1982 to 18 years' imprisonment for articles written between 1977 and 1978.

Ozcan Ozgur—Editor of *Ilk Adimlar Gazetesi* newspaper, sentenced Oct. 1983 to 15 months' imprisonment for two articles.

Emine Sentiklioglu—Chief editor of *Mektup*, sentenced May 1985 to six years' imprisonment and two years' exile for publishing a book "violating the principle of state security."

Ali Sirmen—A foreign affairs columnist with the daily *Cumhuriyet*, sentenced in November 1983 to eight years' imprisonment and 32 months' internal exile for involvement in the Turkish Peace Association.

Veli Yilmaz—Editor of *Liberation*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, arrested in 1980 and sentenced to 1,041 years in prison (term represents seven-year sentence for each offending article).

VIETNAM

The following 27 Vietnamese are journalists, believed held in prison or re-education camps, apparently never charged or tried.

Many were arrested in 1975 and 1976 during a purge which resulted in the banning of various publications and authors and the arrests of many journalists and writers.

Phan Van Lam Binh—Believed to have been arrested 1978.

Vu Quoc Chau—Contributor to the daily *Song Than*. Arrested 1975.

Nguyen Hai Chi—Also known as Choe. Worked as a cartoonist. Arrested 1976, released 1985. Unconfirmed report indicates he was recently re-arrested.

Duong Hung Cuong—Also known as De Huc Can. Arrested 1984.

Ho Van Dong—Worked as publisher of the daily *Quyettien*. Former vice-president (for Asia) of the International Federation of Journalists. Held in re-education camp 1976-1980 and believed returned to a camp.

Nguyen Khanh Giu—Member of the journalists' union. Held for re-education, then freed. Reportedly re-arrested 1984.

Tran Duy Hinh—Also known as Thao Truong.

Nguyen Hoat—Also known as Hieu Chan. Wrote for *Tudo* newspaper. Re-arrested 1984. Initial date of arrest unknown.

Nguyen Van Khanh—Also known as Thach Kien. Primarily a poet but served on *Thoi Luan* newspaper. Arrested after May

1985.

Nguyen Viet Khanh—Also known as Son Dien. Between 1951 and 1973, served in several capacities with Vietnam Press, including reporter, editor. Also wrote commentaries for several newspapers. Arrested 1976.

Le Khiem—Reported to have written for *Dan Chou Moi* and *Tin Song*.

Mai Duc Khoi—Reported to have written for *Song* and *Den* newspapers.

Phan Nhat Nam—Author who contributed to news publications. Held in a re-education camp since 1979.

Nguyen Huu Nhat

Pham Van Tam—Also known as Thai Lang Nghiern. Journalist and former South Vietnamese senator. Arrested 1978.

Nguyen Sy Te—Writer, teacher who also worked as journalist. Arrested 1976.

Trinh Viet Thanh—Reportedly detained since 1975.

Nguyen Chi Thien

Hoang Hai Thuy—Novelist, journalist.

Pham Thai Thuy—Also known as Thai Thuy. A poet and writer who also worked as a journalist. Arrested 1975.

Le Van Tien—Wrote for the *China Quarterly* and some U.S. journals on international affairs. Arrested 1975.

Khuat Duy Trac—A publisher as well as a lawyer and musician. Arrested 1984.

Truong Vi Tri

Ngo Quang Tru—Also known as To Ngoc. A writer and journalist. Arrested 1976.

Nguyen Kim Tuan—Also known as Duy Lam.

Tran Duc Uyen—Also known as Tu Keu. Reportedly arrested 1976 and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.

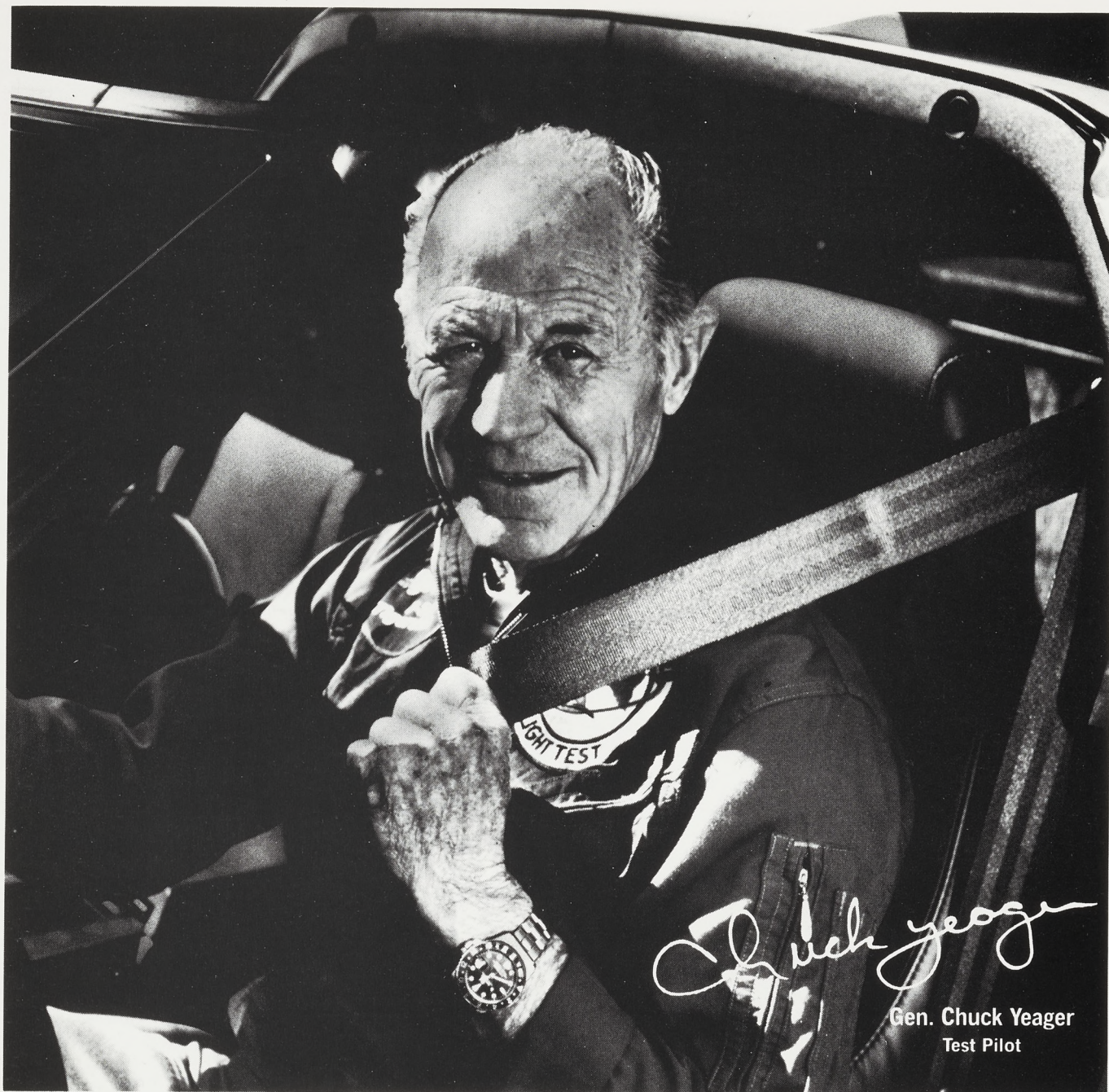
Le Ha Vinh—Also known as Tran Du Tu. Edited the daily *Bao Den*, and worked for radio station Voice of Freedom, and the state broadcasting company. Arrested 1976.

What can be done about this problem? No longer can the press sit back and just report the news. Now that the press has been made a prime target, journalists must speak out, they must expose, they must publicize and protest these violent, criminal attacks on fellow reporters, editors, photographers.

In cooperation with other media and human rights organizations, the OPC attempts to do this by protesting to the offending governments when these cases occur. Some of these efforts have borne fruit, and the prisoners have been released. In all cases, the government have received a clear message that someone cares and is watching. In some cases, the conditions have been improved; in others, the torture has been suspended, or prisoners have been allowed to see their families.

Organizations can be effective in helping journalists under fire. But, individual members of the press should become more vigilant, more sensitive, more outspoken in defense of journalists' rights.

In speaking out for colleagues, even those we've never met, we are speaking out for ourselves and for the best interests of the people we seek to inform.



**“I’ve always buckled up.
But then I’ve always been
the cautious type.”**

Buckle your safety belt.

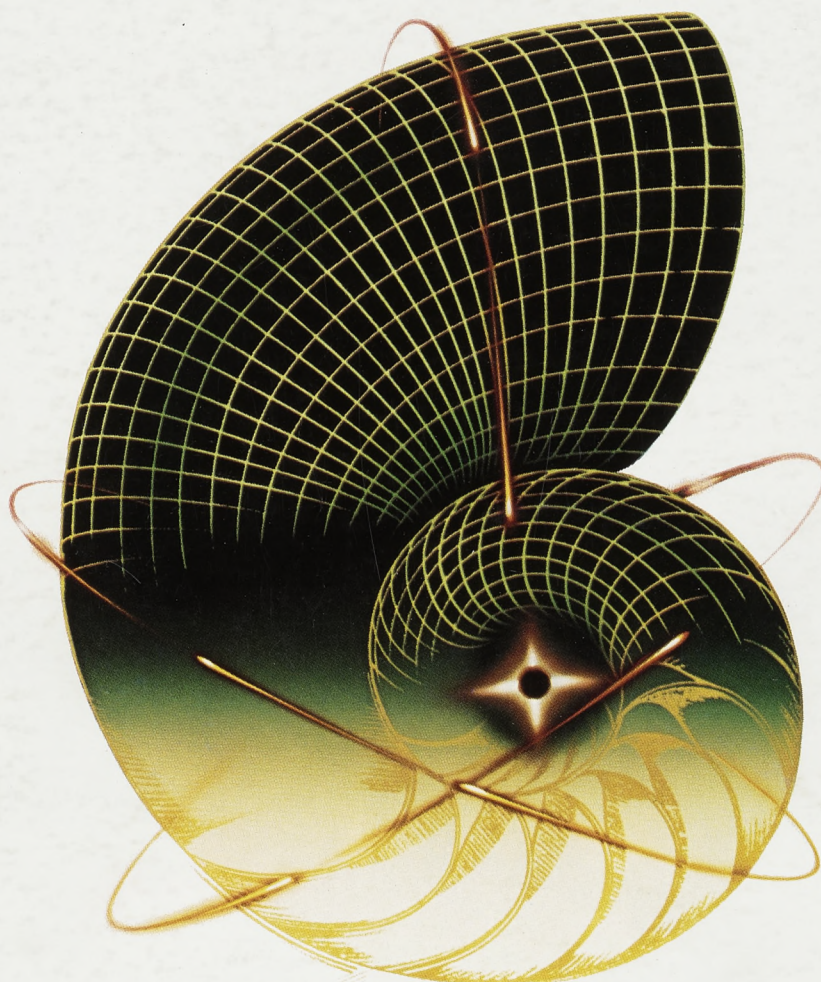


Chevrolet
Pontiac
Oldsmobile
Buick
Cadillac
GMC Truck

'ek·sə·ləns

Excellence

- Having unusual merit; e.g., an outstanding community event.
- Marked by superiority, as in highest standards of presentation or performance.
- Something to strive for, such as unusual distinction in enriching public life.



$$F = FR_s / \frac{d}{d\alpha} [\log (T - T_{pv} - T_{os})]$$

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